United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

78th
PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 14 December 1993
at 10 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY
(Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY, JOZSEF ANTALL

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now pay a tribute to the memory of the late Prime Minister of the Republic of Hungary, Mr. Jozsef Antall.

Mr. Antall's contributions to the processes of change and democratization in Hungary have earned him an important place in the history of our times. On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to convey our heartfelt condolences to the Government and the people of the Republic of Hungary and to his bereaved family.

I invite representatives to stand and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of the late Prime Minister of the Republic of Hungary.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Angola, who will speak on behalf of the Group of African States.

Mr. VAN-DUNEM "MBINDA" (Angola): The people and the Government of Hungary mourn the irrecoverable loss recently suffered by Hungary and the whole world with the passing away into eternal rest of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. This illustrious statesman, a staunch supporter of the struggle for the independence of the people of Hungary, was no stranger to us. He always inspired great respect and admiration in his European colleagues and many other people throughout the world.

At this time of grief and sadness for our brothers in Hungary, allow us, on behalf of the African Group accredited to the United Nations, to express to the bereaved family and to the Government and the people of Hungary our sincere condolences. May his soul rest in peace.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Japan, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Asian States.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): On behalf of the Asian Group, I should like to extend to the Government and the people of Hungary our sincere condolences on the untimely passing of their revered Prime Minister, His Excellency Mr. Jozsef Antall.

As modern Hungary's first democratically elected leader, Prime Minister Antall strove to enhance the stability and prosperity of his nation by opening its markets and strengthening its ties with Western Europe and other parts of the world, including Asia.

Prime Minister Antall's vision and steadiness of purpose proved to be a bulwark against the uncertainties

This record is subject to correction.
Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum.

When the result of a recorded and/or roll-call vote is followed by an asterisk, see the annex to the record.

93-87376 (E)

Distr. GENERAL

A/48/PV.78
6 January 1994

ENGLISH

prevailing throughout Eastern Europe. His success in reshaping his nation will serve as a model and source of encouragement to Hungary's neighbours as they confront similar challenges. Indeed, with the passing of Prime Minister Antall, the international community has lost a truly effective leader.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States.

Mr. MALESKI (The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia): On behalf of the members of the regional Group of Eastern European States, I should like to pay a tribute to the late Prime Minister of the Republic of Hungary, His Excellency Mr. Joszef Antall, who passed away on 12 December 1993.

Mr. Antall was heading the Government of a country that is a factor for peace in a troubled area. It is widely appreciated that his Government, in bilateral contacts and in multilateral forums, promoted understanding and cooperation in Europe. His work of reforming Hungarian society will also be remembered.

I ask the delegation of friendly Hungary to convey to the family of the deceased Prime Minister and to the Government and the people of the Republic of Hungary our deepest condolences.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Ecuador, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States.

Mr. AYALA LASSO (Ecuador) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The death of Mr. Jozsef Antall, Prime Minister of Hungary, has brought us great grief. His contribution to the cause of democracy and the economic and social development of the Hungarian people will be remembered by all, not only for its intrinsic importance but also because of the exemplary manner in which he conducted himself in leading the Government at a time when major changes were taking place in Eastern Europe and throughout the world.

Joszef Antall lived up to the great challenges that always arise in times of significant change and he guided the politics of his country clearly towards the strengthening of democratic institutions. During the revolution of 1956, he was a valiant and dynamic youth leader, a fact which earned him the admiration and respect of all. But those were difficult times of authoritarianism and oppression, and Jozsef Antall had to pay in arbitrary imprisonment for his dreams of democracy and freedom.

His love for his country grew in adversity, and he expressed it in books and articles on the most diverse of issues: 350 books and essays on politics, education and history bear witness to the breadth of his talent and the depth of his love for his people. When the dawn of democracy shed its light upon Hungary, Mr. Antall found the atmosphere conducive to the development of his ability to take action in the guidance of his country. He was Prime Minister of Hungary from 1990 on. His work, his ideals and his successes will be remembered by all with gratitude and admiration.

On behalf of the States of Latin America and the Caribbean, I convey our deepest condolences to the Permanent Mission of Hungary and ask it to convey them to the bereaved family of Jozef Antall and to the Government and people of Hungary.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Portugal, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Western European and Other States.

Mr. CATARINO (Portugal): It is with deep sorrow that I wish to pay tribute to the memory of the late Prime Minister of the Republic of Hungary, Jozsef Antall, who passed away this week.

Prime Minister Antall, who was also President of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, was known for his courageous and combative posture in the accomplishment of difficult tasks. He always liked to participate in political talks and in the drawing up of domestic and foreign-policy-related activities, in which he assumed a leading and prominent role during the Hungarian revolution. He was a well-known writer who earned widespread recognition, notably, gaining many Hungarian, foreign and international prizes and awards.

I shall limit myself now to recalling the dynamic and persistent character of Prime Minster Jozsef Antall and his many endeavours in his country's democratization process.

I should like to conclude by expressing my Group's sincere and heartfelt condolences and feelings of sympathy to the Government and people of the Republic of Hungary and to the bereaved family of the late Prime Minister.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States of America, who will speak on behalf of the host country.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): I should like on behalf of the host country to convey to the Hungarian people and Government our sincere condolences and profound sorrow on the sad occasion of Prime Minister

Antall's death. The Prime Minister's passing is a loss not only to Hungary but also to democratic nations around the world.

As Hungary's first post-Communist Prime Minister, Mr. Antall will be remembered for his strong leadership and his commitment to freedom during these historic times. Prime Minister Antall was considered by Americans to have been a key figure in the historic transformation of Hungary into a true democracy. His dedication to the transatlantic relationship and his friendship with our country will always be remembered by the people of the United States. He was a friend to the United States and an active partner in the international effort to deepen and secure democracy, stability and economic reform in Central and Eastern Europe. His loss will be greatly felt in Europe and here in the United States.

Our thoughts and prayers are with Prime Minister Antall's family and the people of Hungary at this difficult time.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Hungary to speak in reply.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) *(interpretation from French):* At this sad time for Hungary I should like to express sincere thanks for all the expressions of condolence and sorrow we have heard from you, Mr. President, the representatives of the regional Groups and the delegation of the host country, the United States. I shall convey those expressions to the bereaved family and to the people and Government of my country.

The late Prime Minister of Hungary, Mr. Jozsef Antall, was the first Hungarian Head of Government for many decades to be elected democratically. He had the unique and extraordinarily difficult task of guiding the country through a process of historic transition, which, it seemed, nothing could make any easier.

Mr. Antall's death is a great loss for democracy in Hungary. We pay tribute to his memory.

AGENDA ITEM 44 *(continued)*

STRENGTHENING OF THE COORDINATION OF HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/536)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.47)

The PRESIDENT: Members will recall that the General Assembly concluded its debate on this agenda item at its 63rd meeting, held on 24 November.

I call on the representative of Canada to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.47.

Mrs. FRECHETTE (Canada) *(interpretation from French):* I have the honour to submit for the Assembly's consideration draft resolution A/48/L.47, on strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian emergency assistance of the United Nations.

I am happy to be able to submit a draft resolution sponsored by so many countries. I should like to draw attention to the fact that Azerbaijan and Japan wish to be added to the list of sponsors. The support of Colombia, on behalf of the Group of 77, of China and of the vast majority of the Western Group, as well as of many of our colleagues from Eastern Europe, is elegant proof - if proof were needed - that we can work together harmoniously when we are united in a common concern to solve problems of undoubted importance. We congratulate all Groups on their excellent participation in the preparation of this draft resolution.

The summer session of the Economic and Social Council helped greatly in defining the problems, identifying the core issues and finding the appropriate language for the draft resolution that is before the Assembly. This exercise was also an opportunity to confirm the validity of resolution 46/182 and of the guiding principles that it contains. In fact, the goal of the draft resolution that we are submitting today is quite simple; it is to affirm the guiding role to be played by the Department of Humanitarian Affairs in complex emergencies; to confirm that Department's mandate and responsibilities in the field of natural disasters; to invite the agencies to cooperate fully at all stages of an emergency; and, finally, to confirm the leadership role to be played by the Emergency Relief Coordinator.

Beyond these affirmations, it is up to the Assembly to evaluate, in particular, the performance and adequacy of the tools made available to the Coordinator. In this regard, the draft resolution points out that consolidated appeals are intended to meet the needs of all. However, it seeks to increase their impact by demanding that they be based increasingly on immediate needs in the field. It also notes the considerable increase in the utilization of the Revolving Fund, identifies measures that should be taken to speeding up repayment and requests the Secretary-General to conduct consultations. Finally, the draft resolution requests the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, in full conformity

with its mandate, to find a solution to the financing of the rapid response in the initial stage of an emergency.

The reality of the problem and the urgent need to find a solution are universally acknowledged. The draft resolution opts for an interim solution, which has the advantage of tackling the immediate problem while permitting the Department of Humanitarian Affairs to draw from the interest earned by the emergency Fund - though with a duty to preserve the Fund's revolving nature. Nobody is in any doubt that the Department of Humanitarian Affairs must not become involved at an operational level. Moreover, the provision in question takes great care to specify that this facility should be used only in exceptional circumstances - essentially in the initial stage of an emergency, where insufficient capacity exists at the field level.

The Inter-Agency Standing Committee must - as the draft resolution requests it to do - find a comprehensive and definitive solution for managing and financing the crucial problem of rapid response, and that this be done by the time of the Economic and Social Council's substantive session in the summer of 1994.

Speaking of the role of ECOSOC, I conclude with an idea for the General Assembly's consideration: in the future, the Economic and Social Council could be entrusted with the primary responsibility for considering humanitarian affairs questions, given that this is, above all, a question of coordination. Within the framework of the implementation of the resolution on restructuring and revitalizing the economic and social sector, this idea could be given the attention it deserves in the perspective of a better division of work between the General Assembly and ECOSOC.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/48/L.47. May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt the draft resolution by consensus?

Draft resolution A/48/L.47 was adopted (resolution 48/57).

Mr. NOTERDAEME (Belgium) *(interpretation from French)*: I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union, which welcomes the adoption of this resolution and thanks all the groups that contributed to the drafting of this text. Special thanks go to the delegation of Canada, which spared no effort to achieve this result.

We take this opportunity to thank Mr. Eliasson most sincerely for his efforts in the implementation of United Nations humanitarian assistance. It is quite certain that this aspect of United Nations activities would not have had the same impact without his determination and dedication. With perseverance, he gave new impetus to United Nations humanitarian assistance and added his personal touch to recent activities.

His task has not always been easy. Mr. Eliasson made a decisive contribution to the drafting of resolution 46/182 and was subsequently called upon to implement it. New concepts were introduced and needed to be established. Mr. Eliasson did so most convincingly. He was also called upon to deal with broad-ranging emergencies and he certainly contributed to the preparation of the United Nations system for addressing emergencies, be they major and complex or natural disasters.

We wish him all the best in his new duties and we hope that his successor will continue along the same path. Now that the framework has been established, that person will be faced with implementing and improving United Nations humanitarian assistance. Several aspects have yet to be settled and could be further improved. That person must have an in-depth knowledge of the United Nations system and at the same time be capable to carry on diplomatic activities at the highest level. He must also have vision and a constructive imagination if he is to anticipate crises and react to emergency situations. He must also be able to deal promptly with management problems that remain within the Department of Humanitarian Affairs.

The European Union is convinced that the Secretary-General will appoint the most capable person for confronting this difficult and often onerous task.

The PRESIDENT: May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 44?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEMS 38 AND 39 *(continued)*

ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND Non-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/48/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/48/43)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/467 and Add.1, A/48/523, A/48/691)

(d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL AND DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE (FOURTH COMMITTEE) (A/48/657)

(e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/48/L.29, A/48/L.30, A/48/L.31/Rev.1, A/48/L/36)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/524)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.37)

Mr. BATU (Turkey): Turkey has given continuous support to efforts aimed at the total elimination of the apartheid system and has, on all available occasions, participated actively in the debate on this item in the General Assembly.

It is a source of particular pleasure for my delegation that the Multi-party Negotiating Process in South Africa has been successfully completed and that the agreements on an Interim Constitution and an Electoral Bill have been concluded. These agreements constitute a historic step forward in establishing a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

It is our sincere hope that all parties in South Africa, including those which did not participate fully in the multi-party talks, should respect agreements reached during these negotiations, recommit themselves to democratic principles, take part in the elections to be held in April next year, and resolve their internal problems by peaceful means. We support the process of peaceful democratic change in South Africa, which, we believe, is for the benefit of all South Africans.

The unanimous decision of the General Assembly to lift all economic sanctions against South Africa on 8 October was an appropriate response on the part of the international community to the historic progress in that country. It was also a strong signal to the South African people that the international community as a whole and the United Nations in particular are ready to assist them in the economic reconstruction of their country.

In accordance with that same decision - resolution 48/1 - and as a result of the Transitional Executive Council's assuming its functions, the embargo on the supply of oil and petroleum products to South Africa was also lifted a few days ago. We hope that the Transitional Executive Council will succeed in making the necessary arrangements for the first free and fair elections and assist the Government until 27 April 1994.

The lifting of economic and financial sanctions has opened the door for assistance in addressing the socio-economic problems of South Africa. We believe that financial and other forms of help will be needed in the areas of human-resource development, employment, health and housing. Turkey firmly believes that with the dedicated efforts of all their political parties and the active support of the international community, South Africans will succeed in creating a non-racial, democratic and prosperous society.

The creation of a climate of peace during the period leading to the elections is essential. The continuing violence which has already claimed too many lives and which threatens the process of political settlement in South Africa must not be allowed to derail the process of peaceful transition. The international community has a right to expect all South Africans to contribute to the efforts to establish the peaceful and non-violent conditions that are essential for democratic elections.

We firmly believe that the international community will continue to support the final stage of the democratic process in South Africa. In this framework, all the parties in South Africa should solemnly commit themselves to this goal.

Mr. CISSE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The international community, having resolutely and consistently supported all the efforts to eradicate apartheid from South Africa, now has every reason to rejoice at the current developments in that country, which is gradually finding its place once again in the community of civilized nations.

This feeling of satisfaction is shared by Senegal, and it is all the more justified because South Africa is currently at a turning point in its history, with the signing on 18 November 1993 of the agreement on an interim constitution and the organization, for the first time in that country, of multi-party, free and democratic elections, scheduled for 27 April 1994.

This now irreversible process is to lead to the establishment of a government that represents the deepest aspirations of all sectors of South African society. It can be attributed primarily to the sacrifices made by South African men, women and children, and in particular to the maturity and political courage of President

Frederik F. W. de Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress.

The awarding of the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize to these two major statesmen attests, if there were any need for it, to the hopes born of their resolve to lead the South African people out of the troubled waters of apartheid. Happily, the international community understood very well what was involved when it responded favourably to the appeal made on this very spot by Mr. Nelson Mandela for the lifting of economic, trade and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa within a time-frame which has now almost elapsed.

This step-by-step response has the advantage of helping to make the achievements irreversible and of promoting the success of the April 1994 elections. It also makes it possible to create favourable working conditions for the government that will emerge from the elections. However, we must take care that difficulties do not crop up along the way, because, *inter alia*, of the determination of those who oppose the democratization of South African society to undermine what has been achieved so far.

That is why the international community must maintain constant vigilance and must, when necessary, do everything possible to stop the violence and its attendant cortège of victims, which could endanger everything. All the violence must be brought to an end quickly so that all sectors of South African society can, in dignity and clearly, exercise their free choice and establish a united, democratic and non-racial society. The strengthening of the agreement signed on 18 November 1993 to establish an interim constitution and to prepare for the forthcoming elections depends on this.

In this connection, I would congratulate all the parties involved in the negotiating process, and I would also invite those which have not yet joined it to become part of this movement of progress and realism so that the political maturity of the South African people can be reinforced and the work of the international community can be duly validated.

This is a task that must be accomplished so that after 27 April 1994 South Africa, a country with enormous potential, can become reconciled with the rest of Africa and the world, where it is called upon to play a large part. Political courage is necessary if the transition is to be successful, and if a fitting tribute is to be paid to the men, women and children who valiantly gave their lives for the victory of democracy.

I cannot conclude without paying a special tribute to Presidents Nelson Mandela and Frederik de Klerk who, with perceptiveness and determination, have undertaken to lead their great country towards reconciliation, national unity, progress and forgiveness and have thereby given us great hope. Senegal, which has always supported the anti-apartheid struggle and has taken many initiatives to help establish the conditions for a frank and constructive dialogue between all the parties concerned, placed its faith in these two major leaders very early on. For that reason, I would like to express to them here once again our support and full solidarity as well as our encouragement and best wishes for success in their noble enterprise of building a free, united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, reconciled within itself and with the world.

I would also take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid, particularly its dynamic Chairman, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, for the work it has done. I pay a tribute also to all those within the United Nations who contributed to exerting the necessary pressure on the advocates of apartheid until the results we welcome today were achieved.

Mr. ABDELLAH (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour today to speak on behalf of the delegations of the Arab Maghreb Union, Mauritania, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Morocco, Algeria and my country, Tunisia, in the context of the Assembly's consideration of the question of the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Our Organization, which, over the past 30 years, has taken to heart the question of South Africa by mobilizing the international community, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations in a united front against the policy of apartheid, has, since the changes which have taken place in that country, devoted its activities to an intensive, pro-democratic campaign aimed at creating a new, united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We welcome the fact that the unflagging work of the Organization, in which our five countries played an active part within a national framework, within the Arab Maghreb Union or even within regional organizations, has led to the encouraging results that we are witnessing today in South Africa.

Though the Assembly has lived through the various painful events of the policy of apartheid as an institutionalized system, it has also been fortunate enough to witness, during this session, the common commitment of leader Nelson Mandela and President Frederik de Klerk and of the people they represent to ensure the establishment of a new society united by the same values and the same ideals.

The phase we are witnessing today has given the political evolution in South Africa a universal dimension, because it is in accordance with the objectives for which our Organization and all its Member States have fought. In fact, the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid are proof of the concerted efforts and the commitment of the international community in these areas to ensure that equal rights for all peoples are guaranteed in a framework of peace, justice, equity and respect for human rights.

We have taken due note of the fact that the anachronistic laws of the apartheid regime have been repealed. That breakthrough, which was mandated by decisive and positive international pressure, encouraged the various opposing parties to move ahead with their irrevocable commitment to ensure the country's transition towards democracy and equality of opportunities, independently of race or colour.

The various achievements which followed this stage, thanks to dialogue, to cooperation and the acceptance of others, made possible multi-party constitutional negotiations based on the principle of the participation of all and on mutual respect.

It is in this spirit that our five countries welcomed the establishment and the functioning of the Transitional Executive Council in South Africa, the first institutionalized framework which will finally, and for the first time, enable the majority to participate at the governmental level in a process which will determine the future of the country.

The countries of the Arab Maghreb Union quite rightly feel that this Executive Council will play a leading and historic role in guiding the country in a spirit of national unity while awaiting the outcome of the first non-racial elections in South Africa next April. We hope that free and democratic elections will contribute to stabilizing the situation in South Africa.

These positive events must not, however, lead us to excessive euphoria. In fact, in the opinion of the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization, the situation in South Africa and the scope of violence there remain a source of great concern to the international community. This same assessment is corroborated by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, who believes that the efforts of the international community must not diminish in this decisive phase. Finally, leader Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk did not fail to note the dangers facing the transition in South Africa, as the democratization process continues to raise concerns among minorities and among factions who are still resisting change.

Indeed, acts of violence over the recent period have heightened the atmosphere of fear in South Africa, at a time when the most important decisions are being taken and when the most remarkable progress is being made - and that despite the appeals for peace and reconciliation heard on all sides and despite the presence of the United Nations Observer Mission, entrusted with supervising the Peace Accord and increasing security and stability in the country during the transition period.

Aware of the threats that still loom over the democratic process in South Africa, the delegations of the Arab Maghreb Union launch a solemn appeal to all parties to oppose the adversaries of democracy to contain the wave of violence and in this way to preserve the achievements reached at the cost of great sacrifice and indescribable suffering. We feel that in a world headed towards a more serene and interdependent future, there is no longer a place for the anachronistic and devastating idea that one particular area should belong exclusively to one ethnic, religious or cultural group at the exclusion of another. The example of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the most telling testimony of the devastation that such an idea can lead to.

The international community has shown its full understanding of the South African tragedy, in particular by responding to the appeal launched by leader Nelson Mandela from this very rostrum for the lifting of economic sanctions. It was to encourage political tolerance and to enable the South African people to channel their determination and their efforts towards reconstruction that the historic decision to lift sanctions was taken. And it is in this same spirit that in February 1993 the decision was made to halt the boycotting of sports and cultural activities in South Africa. However, we deem it necessary for all parties in South Africa, in particular the new extreme-right groups, to fully understand and appreciate this initiative, which remains contingent on the peaceful pursuance of the transition.

The delegations of the Arab Maghreb Union would like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General of our Organization and to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid for their tireless efforts in ensuring the resumption of peaceful negotiations. Our delegations feel that the question today before our Assembly must be one of the priorities of the international community. The precariousness of the situation in this transitional phase calls for further vigilance and

determination on our part. We appeal to all parties to take duly into consideration the present and future challenges they must meet in a fully responsible manner.

We hope that very soon South Africa will truly be a homeland for all South Africans, regardless of their colour or their ethnic background. In its regained dignity and in the commitment of a people that has been reconciled, South Africa will then be able to rejoin the international community with full rights. This will represent a victory not only for all South Africans but also for all of Africa and for the entire international community.

Mr. MWAUNGULU (Malawi): The Special Committee against Apartheid should be commended for its report (A/48/22) on the elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The Chairman of the Special Committee, Ambassador Garbar of Nigeria, should also be commended for the unflinching leadership and guidance he has provided. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, the United Nations system and the international community have, over the course of years, made enormous contributions to the fight against apartheid and to the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid. On behalf of my Government, my delegation wishes to thank them all for the successes that are in sight. At the same time, we urge them to face the challenges that still remain.

My delegation recognizes that the issue of South Africa is a complex one. The only historical parallels reside in the similarities between the struggles of peoples everywhere throughout the centuries against oppression and injustice. Apartheid was a heinous and cruel system that man designed against his fellow man.

There is some history in the southern African situation that, in the view of my delegation, is relevant at this stage. The Union of South Africa, which was let go by the British in 1910, was the model for the Central African Federation, which the British Government, in collaboration with the settlers in Southern Rhodesia, imposed in 1953 on the African majority in Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. The Africans opposed and defeated that scheme, and it came to an ignominious end in 1963. The Central African Federation would have been a copy-cat dominion or union, similar in every way to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

An important historical perspective on the South African issue is also to be found in the following words used by Sir Harold Macmillan, a former British Prime Minister, in an address to a joint session of the South African Parliament in February 1960:

> "The wind of change is blowing through this continent, and, whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact, and our national policies must take account of it."

Those words represent courage and foresight. They were spoken at a time when the national struggle was asserting itself strongly in the whole of Africa and more and more African countries were on the road to independent statehood. My own country, Malawi, was in this category. In South Africa itself, the African National Congress, under Mr. Nelson Mandela, and other leaders and other political parties were waging a determined struggle against oppression and injustice rooted in apartheid, in the face - at the time - of a brutal and violent response from the regime. The words of the British Prime Minister were lost as soon as they were uttered.

There is another historical perspective in the case of southern Africa. In May 1972, in Bulawayo, Mr. Ian Smith, at the time Prime Minister, made a statement that continues to haunt him to this day. He said that independence for Southern Rhodesia would not occur - "not in my lifetime, not in a thousand years". We all know that his thousand years turned out to be a mere eight, and Mr. Ian Smith is still alive today, living comfortably and safely in an independent Zimbabwe. This is a good message to the right-wing groups in South Africa which are bent on torpedoing the great achievements that have, against all odds, taken place. The members of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), the Conservative Party and their allies have nothing to fear but fear itself. Violence and the threats of civil war should not be allowed to succeed in South Africa. These negative forces must be made to heed the call by the United Nations and the entire international community to cooperate and take part in the Multi-party Negotiating Process and the Transitional Executive Council and work for the successful implementation of the interim constitution and the general election scheduled for 27 April 1994.

On behalf of the Malawi Government, my delegation salutes Mr. De Klerk, President of the Republic of South Africa, and salutes that great son of Africa, Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress (ANC), for the political will and determination they have shown, against all odds, in spearheading the political process of change in South Africa - which, we all hope, will lead to a successful general election in April of next year. It is indeed fitting that their achievements, which must include the other political parties and groupings closely involved in the Multi-party Negotiating Process, have been crowned by a Nobel Peace Prize.

My delegation, however, recognizes that there is a great deal of work to be done before and leading up to 27 April 1994. The Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority can work effectively only if they receive all the support necessary and the resources they need to function. The stemming of violence should be priority number one. This is a matter that the South Africans themselves should resolve.

People of goodwill everywhere would like to see a peaceful transition to a multi-party, non-racial and democratic South Africa, with a government elected on the basis of universal suffrage. Admittedly, the role of the Transitional Executive Council is crucial, particularly the work of the Sub-Councils on Law and Order, Stability and Security, on Defence and on Intelligence. Those structures should be seen to be working for all South Africans in the control and eventual elimination of violence. The success of the democratic process in South Africa depends on how effectively they are made to function. The South African Government carries the heaviest responsibility in this regard.

My delegation supports the efforts of the Secretary-General in the preparations he is currently making to increase the level and magnitude of United Nations assistance to South Africa in the run-up to the general election in April next year. There is need, therefore, to enhance and strengthen the United Nations organizational presence in South Africa. My delegation fully supports the Security Council initiative in this respect.

My delegation believes that the more electoral observers there are in the field, the better. The call by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid in this regard is timely. The international community, particularly the European Union, the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Organization of African Unity, among other bodies, should also take the lead in this endeavour. It is extremely important at this stage to take all the actions necessary to ensure that the general election in April next year is held in a peaceful atmosphere and that its outcome is seen to be free and fair.

It will be a long time before the deep wounds of apartheid are healed for both black and white. My delegation strongly believes that national reconciliation must go hand in hand with national reconstruction and a fair and equitable distribution of the country's tremendous wealth to those who have been denied for too long, the majority African population. This is a challenge the South Africans can meet themselves, but only with the help of the United Nations system, the international financial institutions and bilateral donors.

Finally, my delegation would like to add its voice to calls made in this Hall by other delegations for the Committee on the elimination of apartheid not to end its mission prematurely - at least, not just yet.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese)*: Thanks to the long and steady efforts made by the South African people and the international community, positive changes have taken place in South Africa. Since July this year, multi-party negotiations have been held in South Africa, and it was agreed through these negotiations that the non-racial election, the first of its kind in the history of South Africa, is to be held on 27 April 1994. At the same time, leaders of 19 South African parties have ratified a package agreement which contains the draft constitution. Recently, the Transitional Executive Council was officially established. The Chinese Government warmly welcomes these major developments in the South African peace process.

China has all along sympathized with and supported the South African people in their just struggle against apartheid and for racial equality and democratic rights, and has always favoured the peace process in South Africa. We laud the determination and endeavour of the African National Congress (ANC) and other South African parties concerned for the political settlement of the question of South Africa. We also appreciate the series of reform measures adopted by President De Klerk since he took office.

At present, the peace process is still faced with many difficulties. The continued occurrence of violence poses a threat to it, and China condemns any attempt to undermine that peace process. We sincerely hope that all the parties in South Africa will bury the hatchet, overcome difficulties, adopt effective measures to stop violence, implement the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and observe the agreements already reached to create conditions through the effective work of the Transitional Executive Council so that the general election will be held smoothly and on schedule. We also hope that a new, unified, democratic and non-racial South Africa will be established, thus contributing to peace, stability and economic growth in Africa.

The United Nations has done a great deal of useful work in eliminating the policy of apartheid and in promoting a political solution to the South African question, and that work is highly appreciated by the international community. China has consistently supported and appreciated the efforts made by the Secretary-General

for the settlement of the South African question and has attached special importance to the role of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and African States.

On 24 September this year, Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the ANC, delivered an important statement during the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, urging the international community to consider the lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa. That appeal has received a broad and positive response, and the relevant General Assembly resolution was adopted by consensus. On 28 October this year, the concerned departments of the Chinese Government announced the decision to resume China's economic and trade relations with South Africa. We shall also actively promote direct trade exchanges and economic cooperation between the Chinese and South African economic and trade enterprises. China, as a permanent member of the Security Council, will continue to work with other members of the international community and contribute to an early political solution to the South African question.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): Four decades ago the United Nations first addressed itself to the issue of South Africa and the evil of apartheid. Four days ago, Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk received the Nobel Peace Prize. This occasion signalled the closure of a long and painful chapter in the history of South Africa. The leaders of the two communities, who had for years related to each other in hostility and distrust, were jointly honoured for their efforts to create a new South Africa. My delegation salutes these two courageous statesmen for their courage and vision in steering South Africa from the dark forces of apartheid and moving it towards freedom, tolerance and equality.

The ceremony in Oslo was an apt acknowledgement of the many positive developments that have taken place in South Africa recently. On 18 November the participants in the multi-party negotiations ratified an agreement on a transitional constitution in South Africa. The constitution sets out the political culture of a free South Africa. The will of the people will be reflected in the national parliament comprising the national assembly and the senate. Every South African will have the right to elect his representatives, in both the national and the provincial legislatures. A government of national unity will rule the country for five years, until the promulgation of a permanent constitution. The Bill of Fundamental Human Rights, which constitutes an integral part of the constitution, guarantees equality of race, freedom of speech, an independent judiciary and universal franchise. These are the hallmarks of a truly democratic polity.

The provisions of the interim constitution embrace the attributes of a free and egalitarian society. We earnestly hope that the elections of 27 April 1994, following which the interim constitution will become operational, will be held on time and in a free and fair manner. There are, of course, fringe elements in South Africa that have yet to shed the bias and the prejudices inherent in apartheid. We are confident that the people of South Africa will not allow these elements to derail the process of peaceful change in the country.

It is also incumbent upon the international community to give full and wholehearted support for the consolidation of the democratic process in South Africa. In this context, we fully support the recommendations of the Special Committee against Apartheid for the deployment of a sizeable United Nations force for monitoring the elections in April next year. This world body, which has invested so much of its prestige and resources in support of peaceful change in South Africa, should oversee the final steps towards a democratic, multiracial society.

We also support the view that the United Nations monitors should be in place well in advance of the election date. We are happy to note that the Secretary-General has already begun preparations for undertaking this important task.

Sanctions played an important role in the demise of apartheid; they have now been lifted. The oil embargo was also nullified with the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, which held its first meeting just a few days ago. The international community will have to go far beyond the lifting of the sanctions. Large-scale economic and technical cooperation will be required for putting South Africa on the road to sustainable development. The economic powers, the financial institutions, private banks, and multinational companies will now have to play their full role in the revitalization of South Africa.

The world should now move from censure to support. We should not allow the repetition of the recent phenomenon of political independence being undermined by economic failure. In view of our intense involvement in South Africa, it is our moral and political responsibility to ensure that a prosperous and progressive South Africa rises from the ashes of apartheid.

Pakistan has been a strong and steadfast supporter of international efforts to end apartheid in South Africa. That commitment is reflected, *inter alia*, in our long-standing presence in the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. We have participated actively in the deliberations of that Committee,

which has tangibly benefited the South African people. It is important to ensure that the Fund continues to extend substantial legal, humanitarian and educational assistance to the victims of apartheid in South Africa, in particular to the returning refugees and exiles. In that context, I would like to pay a special tribute to Ambassador Peter Osvald of Sweden for providing inspiring leadership to the Committee in its effort to extend assistance to the disadvantaged segments of South African society.

We share the hope expressed by Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria in his statement yesterday that the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly will complete the consideration of the item on apartheid; it should soon be possible to delete this item from our agenda. If it is indeed to be retained, then that should be as an example of the ascendancy of the forces of tolerance and cooperation and as a tribute to the statesmanship and vision of the exceptionally able political leadership which South Africa was privileged to witness at this sensitive stage in its history. It is our hope that at the forty-ninth session South Africa will be represented by a freely elected democratic Government and that the pain and the anguish of apartheid will be behind us for ever.

Mr. VILCHEZ ASHER (Nicaragua) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I am honoured to make this statement on behalf of the countries of Central America: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Panama and Nicaragua.

The countries of Central America - especially Nicaragua, as a member of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa - are very pleased to be celebrating the fact that the odious system of racial segregation is coming to its inevitable end in South Africa.

The current positive developments in South Africa give us a credible basis for greater hopes of a brighter future, with the advent of a democratic, truly united, non-racial South Africa. That objective will be attained by a gradual process, in which the April 1994 elections will be a fundamental step; for the first time there will be free and fair democratic elections in which, also for the first time, the black South African majority will be able to exercise the right to vote. Those elections will enable the South African people to establish the first multi-racial Government in their political history.

The current process began with a multi-party dialogue, with the participation of the main South African political and other organizations, representing about 90 per cent of the population. Important steps were agreed upon by consensus, with the final aim of establishing a Government of national unity. An interim Constitution was drafted, also on the basis of consensus among the parties; this demonstrates the democratic nature of the process.

The final constitution will be drafted by a constituent assembly in an innovative process that incorporates mechanisms to avoid or overcome obstacles. A 60 per cent majority vote will be required for approval. This will enrich the constitutional debate and will help define further change in South Africa.

We pay tribute to Nelson Mandela, the undoubted leader of the South African people, without whose presence and leadership it would be nearly impossible to imagine what we are celebrating today. Imprisoned for 25 years for defending and fighting for his noble ideals, he shows us that great causes such as justice and human rights cannot fail to triumph in the end. With patience, humility and perseverance, emphasizing dialogue and marginalizing the violence of which he and his followers were victims, Mandela and his people achieved what many would consider a miracle: the end of apartheid.

The sacrifices of Nelson Mandela and many others were not in vain. Just a few days ago the Nobel Prize Committee awarded him, together with President Frederik de Klerk, its highest honour, also honouring, through them, all those South African citizens, whatever their colour, who struggled for the elimination of apartheid because of their conviction that all human beings are equal and that there is not, and never can be, a superior race.

Nelson Mandela and Frederik de Klerk have earned a place not merely in the history of South Africa, but in the history of mankind. Their words and deeds will be a model for all those who firmly believe in peace, national reconciliation, democracy, justice and human rights. The end of apartheid comes as a result of the enormous effort of the South African people, of the mature and dedicated leadership of Nelson Mandela and Frederik de Klerk, and of the sustained support of the international community.

There have been meaningful steps forward on the long road to freedom for the South African majority: the date of the elections has been announced, electoral agreements have been adopted and the Transitional Executive Council has been established. All this makes change in South Africa irreversible. But nevertheless there are grounds for caution and constant vigilance by the international community. Political violence continues, along with threats to derail the transition to democracy. Therefore, the struggle must continue against the historic enemies of the South African people: poverty, injustice and human rights violations.

In our view, the United Nations must continue, despite what has been achieved, to help solve the problems of South Africa and attain the objectives of the General Assembly's Declaration on Apartheid, adopted by consensus in 1989, and all the relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The United Nations must also play a central role in monitoring the April 1994 elections. In that connection, we welcomed the appeal by the President of the Security Council for flexibility in planning United Nations participation in the April 1994 elections, and the Secretary-General's replies in that connection.

The countries of Central America wish to take this historic opportunity to congratulate the Special Committee against Apartheid on the work it has done. We also congratulate the Secretary-General and all the countries that have participated in, and continue to support, the building of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. We pay tribute also to the people of South Africa, who with valour and resolve have been struggling for their goals of freedom and justice, eager for and committed to national reconciliation and democracy.

Despite everything else that has happened, 1993 has been a positive year. The Israel-Palestine agreement and its subsequent developments, despite problems and pitfalls, and the irreversible end of apartheid are special events ensuring that 1993 will be long remembered - in spite of the continuing crises in the former Yugoslavia, Haiti, Western Sahara, Liberia, Somalia and the fact that there are other unresolved conflicts. We hope that, by the efforts of their peoples and leaders and with the cooperation of the international community, it will be possible to resolve them so that we can consolidate the new international order for which we yearn so earnestly. In his statement at the Johannesburg World Trade Centre on 17 November, Nelson Mandela said:

> "We can build a society based on brotherhood and our common nature, a society based on tolerance. That is the only road open to us. It is a road to a glorious future on our beautiful planet. Let us join hands and walk forward into the future."

Mr. WLOSOWICZ (Poland): Let me begin by expressing my delegation's conviction that this is the last time the General Assembly will be addressing the question of apartheid. This dark chapter of history, this heinous crime against humanity, has reached the point of no return and will soon be closed. It will always be seen as the strongest warning to mankind's future generations. We will remember the victims of apartheid and the heroes who have fallen in their long and painful struggle against this scourge.

As significant developments are gaining momentum in South Africa, we expect an early dawn of a new era for this country as a free, democratic, non-racial State that is a true home for all its inhabitants, regardless of the colour of their skin.

On 24 September Mr. Nelson Mandela, in his address to the Special Committee against Apartheid delivered from this very rostrum, referred to the historic changes that had occurred in his country and called upon the international community to lift all economic sanctions against South Africa.

On 19 November, agreement was reached on an interim constitution for South Africa. While difficulties still remain, this constitutes a new stage in the transition to a non-racial society.

On 7 December the meeting of the 32-member Transitional Executive Council (TEC) took place, ending nearly three centuries of white-monopoly rule in South Africa. We are certain that the Council will show its effectiveness in overseeing the running of the country until democratic elections take place next April. Since the multilateral Council has become operational, Poland fully supports the decision to terminate the oil embargo against South Africa.

I would like to salute the wisdom and courage of Mr. Mandela and President De Klerk for achieving such considerable progress in the peaceful dissolution of white minority rule, the system that brought pain and humiliation to millions. In our view the Nobel Peace Prize could not have been given to better hands.

South Africa's road to democracy is facing crucial tests. Right-wing white and conservative black leaders are threatening to unleash a campaign of civil disobedience and even armed resistance if the Government implements majority rule without accommodating white minority demands for self-determination. We hope that the Inkatha Freedom Party and an array of Afrikaner separatists and supremacists will refrain from boycotting elections and from the armed insurrection that has been hinted at. It is our strongest conviction that only peaceful negotiations and the cooperation of all parties concerned will bring a solution to the violence which generates a climate hostile to the democratic process in South Africa. The United Nations should continue its active involvement in that process, including the supervision of the elections to take place in April 1994. Poland, if requested, will be ready to provide a number of election monitors for that purpose.

Mrs. Fréchette (Canada), Vice-President, took the Chair.

In conclusion, please allow me to express the opinion that lasting peace and prosperity for South Africa and the entire region will not be assured if systemic reforms are not supported by economic growth and a speedy solution of the exacerbated socio-economic problems of that country. The state of South Africa's economy must be seen in a wider international context, especially a pan-African context. The United Nations system should be ready to address this issue when South Africa once again becomes an equal partner and a member of the international community.

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania): The remarkable progress made in the last few years, and particularly since 1989, towards the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, can be gauged from the nature of the debate in the Assembly, the number and content of the resolutions adopted and the voting pattern of Member States on the resolutions on apartheid. At the height of apartheid repression and oppression in the 1980s, the number of political resolutions adopted annually by the General Assembly ranged from 8 to 12. Last year, the number dropped to 5. This year the Assembly is being called upon to adopt only 2 such resolutions. This is an indication of the emerging consensus that the developments that have taken place in South Africa since this time last year constitute the profound and irreversible changes envisaged in the 1989 Declaration on Apartheid and Its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

The agreement reached in the Negotiating Council on an interim constitution and for the establishment of an Independent Electoral Commission, an Independent Media Commission, an Independent Broadcasting Authority and a Transitional Executive Council, as well as the enactment by Parliament of the necessary legislation enabling the establishment of these transitional structures, together constitute a profound transformation of the situation in South Africa. While the road to the final destination remains long and treacherous, it cannot be denied that, whatever happens in that country, things will never be the same again.

For this achievement, my delegation congratulates all the parties in the negotiations, in particular the representatives of the long-oppressed and disenfranchised majority people of South Africa, for their perseverance and capacity for compromise throughout the protracted negotiations, which have made possible the achievement of these historic agreements.

We welcome the convening in Cape Town on Tuesday, 7 December 1993, of the inaugural meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). The media are guilty of an exaggeration in characterizing the meeting as marking "the end of minority rule in South Africa". The more accurate description is that of the Secretary-General of the African National Congress, Cyril Ramaphosa, himself a member of the TEC. Many of us will agree with him that Tuesday, 7 December 1993, "marks the beginning of the end of minority rule". This was underlined by the statement of his Government counterpart, Roef Meyer, that the task of the TEC was to level the political playing field and that it was not an alternative Government.

We in the Assembly urge the speedy establishment of the other transitional structures. While all of them have important and urgent functions to perform, there can be little doubt that the most pressing tasks at the moment relate to the electoral process. The date 27 April 1994 is just around the corner, and the massive preparations required are yet to begin. The Assembly must therefore use the present debate to urge the TEC to speed up the establishment of the Independent Electoral Commission, so that the electoral process can get under way.

But the rest of us need not wait for that to happen before we set in motion the preparations for our own contribution to the process. The people of South Africa, through the Negotiating Council, have called for the involvement of the international community in the preparations for and conduct of the elections.

As the Multi-Party Negotiating Council resolution adopted on 6 December 1993 makes clear, the United Nations is expected to provide a sufficient number of international observers to monitor the electoral process, and is also called upon to coordinate all international observers and, as a matter of urgency, to put in place the necessary arrangements to that effect, in particular ensuring that the international observers are deployed in an effective and coordinated manner in close cooperation with the Independent Electoral Commission. This responsibility entails a lot of work which will require a great deal of detailed planning. My delegation commends the Secretary-General for his decision to dispatch a needs-assessment mission to South Africa and expresses the hope that it will report at the earliest possible date.

The fact that progress towards a new South Africa has been made does not mean that we can now lower our guard. Vigilance remains essential, not only because the destination is still far off, but also because there are still serious obstacles along the way that threaten to derail the process.

One of them is the endemic violence which continues to tear the country apart. Too many lives have been lost in this violence - 13,000 since President De Klerk came to

power. The world cannot allow this senseless carnage to go on. In the run-up to the elections in April next year, it is especially important that everything be done to stop the violence in order to provide an atmosphere for free political activity.

As many delegations have stressed in the debate on violence in South Africa over the last eight years or so, while all South Africans have a responsibility for ending the violence, the primary responsibility lies with the Government of South Africa. It is the authority responsible for ensuring the security and safety of all its citizens and it must be called upon to exercise that responsibility.

Until President De Klerk's recent admission of the existence of a third force, the Government consistently denied that it had a hand in fomenting the politically inspired violence which has plagued the townships since the mid-1980s. Yet the evidence of an invisible hand in the so-called black-on-black violence was so compelling that the Government's continued denial of the complicity or connivance of the security forces and their surrogates convinced only the naive. Regrettably, the admission has not affected the situation materially. Many of the Goldstone Commission's recommendations have yet to be implemented. The foreign mercenaries that have been used to foment violence remain in the country. The failure to investigate reports on violence, some implicating leading Government ministers in political assassinations, suggests more than indifference on the part of the Government.

Looming on the horizon as a very serious threat to the peace process is a new type of violence represented by organized right-wing forces led by former members of the South African Defence Forces (SADF). The international community has had ample warning about the intentions of these forces, particularly as they relate to the electoral process. Everything possible must be done to deter them.

All the foregoing means that there is an urgent need to increase the presence of the international community in South Africa and to raise its visibility. External monitoring of the violence has helped to deter it, to some extent. But it has not been adequate. The need to do more, especially in the face of threats to disrupt the electoral process is self-evident.

The expectation that, in addition to its continuing role in monitoring the violence, the United Nations should play a central role in the electoral process imposes a particular responsibility on the Organization. My delegation urges the United Nations to take up the challenge and pledges its full support for these efforts.

The United Nations presence in South Africa at the moment is very small. We welcome the arrangements now being made to raise it to 100. Still, it will be too small to meet the challenge, which is difficult enough at the moment but is certain to be made more difficult by the problems of the electoral process.

We do not wish to anticipate the report of the Secretary-General's needs-assessment mission to South Africa, but it is quite clear that the people of South Africa have very high expectations about what the Organization can do to help in the peace process. We must not disappoint them.

The international community got it wrong in Angola. The result has been that the people of Angola have had to pay a heavy price - 1,000 people dying every day. Our getting it wrong enabled Jonas Savimbi to cry "foul". The prestige and moral authority of the United Nations also suffered as a consequence. We must get it right in South Africa, not only because we have the bitter lesson of Angola to learn from, but also because we cannot afford to get it wrong there. The consequences of getting it wrong in South Africa are too frightening to contemplate. We must deny Savimbi's South African counterparts any excuse to cry "foul".

To do so, we must endeavour to station at least one monitor at every polling station. Money may be tight, but my delegation believes that the world community can afford the costs involved, if only because the alternative, a racial conflagration, will be far more costly. We have invested so much in the peace process in South Africa that we cannot afford to fail on the eve of success.

Mr. GAFFAR (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Over the past two years, South Africa has been witnessing more and more political reforms, the most important of which were the repeal of the apartheid laws and the initiation of constitutional talks which have led to the agreement on the draft interim constitution, the electoral bill, and the agreement on holding constitutional elections on 27 April 1994.

All these agreements have led to the formation of the Transitional Executive Council, which brings together currents of opinion that represent all the segments of the populace to share in the responsibility of monitoring the performance of the executive authority during the transitional period. We welcome the creation of that Council which will contribute to the process of constitutional reforms.

We attach particular importance to the recent agreement relating to the drafting of a new constitution for

South Africa, which we consider to be the beginning of a new era in South Africa's history that will take shape on the rubble of three centuries of apartheid rule. This agreement will lead also to the restoration of national unity and peace in South Africa.

It is only fair to say that these developments stem from the sincere desire of all the people of South Africa to put the past behind them and to turn a new leaf in their relations with each other through the initiation of profound and far-reaching political changes. We cannot but reiterate our support for the process of constitutional reform currently under way in South Africa, and we hope that all the parties concerned will reach solutions to all the outstanding technical problems relating to those reforms.

The recent constitutional reforms in South Africa have led the international community to change its stance with regard to the restrictions previously imposed on South Africa. The aim of this is to encourage that country to pursue further the reform process. That was most manifest in the historic resolution 48/1, adopted at the beginning of this session, in which the General Assembly set forth the principles for lifting the prohibitions and sanctions on economic relations with South Africa and its nationals in the areas of trade, investment, finance, travel and transportation. The resolution also provided for lifting the embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa and on investment in the petroleum industry there as of the date that the Transitional Executive Council becomes operational.

In this respect we must congratulate the people of South Africa most warmly on the constitutional reforms that have been achieved so far. The international community has made clear its position vis-à-vis the importance of those encouraging developments by lifting the economic and oil embargo against South Africa and by acting in a manner that is truly consonant with the wishes of the people of South Africa. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General to assist the people of South Africa in the overall process of political change. We must also commend the efforts of the Observer Mission in South Africa to further the political process there.

The negative trend that emerged in the process of political change in South Africa could have affected adversely the process of reform were it not for the wisdom shown by the leaders of the various South African political parties. That negative trend was the killing and violence that has claimed the lives of many innocent victims over the past few months because of their ethnic origins or tribal affiliation. While we support the process of political and constitutional reform in South Africa, we cannot but voice our deep concern over the continuing cycle of violence and killing in that country. In this respect, we should like to underline the importance for all parties to exercise self-restraint and to forgo such acts of killing, so that they may ensure the success of the political reform process. We also express our heartfelt hope that all the disputes among the people of South Africa will be resolved by negotiation and constructive dialogue.

Mr. KITTIKHOUN (Lao People's Democratic Republic) *(interpretation from French)*: The General Assembly's consideration over more than four decades of the South African Government's policy of apartheid is this year entering its crucial phase. Undoubtedly, the light at the end of the tunnel seems to be well within reach. However, much remains to be done.

At their meeting held at United Nations Headquarters on 4 October last, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries noted with great satisfaction that through the multi-party negotiations in South Africa, 27 April 1994 had been set as the date for the first democratic elections. While expressing the hope that the elections will make it possible to establish a united, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa, the Ministers expressed their great concern over the escalation of political violence in South Africa, and in that regard they implored the South African authorities to shoulder their primary responsibility of ensuring the maintenance of security for all citizens. Along the same lines, in its presidential statement of 24 August 1993, the Security Council recalled its resolution 765 (1992), which stated that it is incumbent upon the South African authorities to take all measures necessary to bring an immediate end to the violence and to protect the lives and property of all South Africans.

The current situation in South Africa remains, in fact, of great concern. Extremist elements continue to threaten to plunge the country into civil war in order to halt the peaceful transition towards non-racial democracy, which is in the interests of all South Africans. Worse still, according to a report (AFP, 8/12/93) of the standing commission to investigate violence in South Africa, chaired by Judge Richard Goldstone, some police act like death squads, killing political militants, including those of the African National Congress (ANC). This year alone, the number of deaths tallied at the end of November had reached almost 4,000. In short, killings, massacres of innocent civilians and senseless violence of all kinds are still daily occurrences in that country, and this poses the risk of derailing the process of peaceful transition that was so difficult to undertake.

Faced with this situation, the international community must forcefully make known its utter disapproval of the

ongoing violence and its refusal, under any circumstances, to allow this violence to hamper South Africa's political transition. To this end, resolute efforts should be made and rigorous new measures should be taken to ensure that country's smooth and peaceful transition towards a democratic and non-racial regime.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic welcomes the establishment, on 7 December, of the Transitional Executive Council. For the first time in South Africa's history, blacks now have the right to an equal say in the management of the country's affairs, including in the areas of defence, maintenance of order, finance, foreign affairs and local and regional government. We earnestly hope that that Council will effectively accomplish its historic task, especially in preparing for the first multi-racial legislative elections, scheduled to be held in April 1994.

Forced to live together on the soil of South Africa, black and white South Africans and others are called upon to forget their past and, together, to create stable conditions for the proper organization and holding of the impending multiracial elections.

The South African people have already suffered far too much, and they, like other peoples, have a right to the peace that will enable them to rebuild their homeland. Undoubtedly, they will benefit greatly from the peace they are building in this new, united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Mr. SIMMONS (Australia): When the Australian representative addressed the Assembly during the debate on this item at its forty-seventh session, we sounded a note of concern at the way in which the long-overdue process of political reform in South Africa had begun to drift. We registered the need for all the parties to that process to bring to bear the leadership necessary to re-establish the momentum of change.

It is therefore with immense relief that, today, we take note of the road that has been travelled since then and of the historic agreements that have been reached - most notably, on the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, which is now operational, and other bodies that will ensure a level playing-field for the conduct, next April, of South Africa's first democratic, non-racial elections. The elements of an interim Constitution have also been agreed.

In what we most sincerely hope will be the General Assembly's last debate on the question of apartheid in South Africa - and the last regular session of the Assembly to be held without the participation of a delegation from a united, democratic South Africa - it would be understandable if we were to dwell on what the international community has achieved as a result of its long campaign, in support of and in partnership with the democratic forces in South Africa, to end the system of institutional racism in that country.

But we must not rest on our laurels. The process of democratization in South Africa remains vulnerable and requires our continuing support. Specifically, we must solemnly associate ourselves with the call made by the Security Council in its statement of 23 November, and reiterated in the principal, omnibus draft resolution on apartheid we shall adopt shortly - a call to

> "all parties in South Africa, including those which did not participate fully in the multi-party talks, to respect agreements reached during the negotiations, to recommit themselves to democratic principles, to take part in the elections and to resolve outstanding issues by peaceful means only". (S/26785)

We have seen some in South Africa - people who fear that their narrow interests may not be preserved under the new, democratic dispensation - threaten to undermine that dispensation. We have seen violence in South Africa - a phenomenon that, last year, we described as shocking and tragic - worsen. The international community must make it clear to those currently boycotting the Transitional Executive Council process that they should join the majority of South Africans in supporting the transition to democratic elections and a new, post-apartheid Government and should end any threats of secession and violence. By refusing to participate in the democratic process, they can only face increasing marginalization.

Secondly, we must mobilize to provide the support and assistance that the Multi-party Negotiating Council has sought from the United Nations, along with other international organizations, in the conduct of the elections next April. These elections, which are so vital to the future stability and orientation of the country, must be, and must be seen to be, fair, democratic and above the reproach of those who will not fail to challenge their validity and legitimacy.

Time for this is short, and the task is a daunting one. The elections, involving the enfranchisement of the vast majority of the South African population for the first time, are only four months away, but the Independent Electoral Commission is not yet operational and not yet staffed. It is essential that planning in the United Nations Secretariat be accelerated so that the United Nations may be able to respond quickly and effectively to this challenge.

Thirdly, following the lifting of all sanctions, except the mandatory arms embargo, against South Africa, as a result of the call made in this place by Mr. Nelson Mandela on 24 September, we must do everything possible to accelerate trade and investment in South Africa. The sanctions were effective in bringing the apartheid regime to its senses. Now that sanctions have been lifted, it is imperative that South Africa enjoy the advantages of full participation in international trade and investment. The economic and social distortions of apartheid have left the South African economy in a parlous state. As Mr. Mandela told us on 24 September, the very fabric of South African society is threatened by rising rates of joblessness, homelessness and violent crime.

Once the new democratic order is established, the expectations of the victims of apartheid will be high, justified and urgent. Social and economic benefits will have to flow quickly if the tasks of healing and nation-building in a society long dislocated by apartheid are to be completed successfully. The new Government of South Africa must have the wherewithal to promote and sustain economic growth that will benefit not only South Africa but, indeed, other African countries as well.

Australia is proud of its record in the years of the struggle to end apartheid, and it is proud of its record in responding to the challenges of the fast-evolving situation in South Africa today. Australia has been an active member of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, which has provided high-level impetus and guidance on Commonwealth policies for the abolition of apartheid in South Africa.

Having long adhered rigorously to the sanctions regime against South Africa, and having been instrumental in the further refining of Commonwealth sanctions in the crucial financial area, Australia announced the lifting of all sanctions, except the mandatory arms embargo, against South Africa. This announcement was included in a statement that Foreign Minister Gareth Evans made in New York on 24 September 1993 - the day of Mr. Mandela's historic statement. Measures designed to stimulate trade with and investment in South Africa were announced shortly afterwards.

Australia is a long-standing contributor to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, and, pending the absorption of those programmes into normal United Nations country programmes, will contribute to them next year.

Australia will continue to assist change in South Africa through the provision of aid under Australia's special assistance programme for South Africans. In 1993-1994, $A 7 million will be provided to help South Africa during the period of transition to democracy. Australian projects will include assistance in respect of the electoral process, economic policy and planning, the media, Civil Service training and local government reform.

Finally, Australia has contributed human and financial resources to the Commonwealth Observer Mission in South Africa and has well-advanced plans to provide assistance, bilaterally and through United Nations and Commonwealth channels, in the preparation and conduct of the democratic, non-racial elections in South Africa next year.

It is fitting that our last words in the debate in this place on apartheid should be a tribute: a tribute certainly to the wisdom and pragmatism of Mr. De Klerk, who was able to lead his constituency out of the vicious and bankrupt dead end of the apartheid system, but a tribute above all to his fellow Nobel Peace Prize recipient, Mr. Nelson Mandela, whose heroism, steadfastness and noble personal sacrifice inspired a generation of people within and outside South Africa and whose vision for his country he eloquently presented here on 24 September:

> "Our common victory against the only system to be declared a crime against humanity since the defeat of nazism is in sight. The historic need to end this crime as speedily and peacefully as possible requires that we, the peoples of the world, should remain as united as we have been and as committed as we have been to the cause of democracy, peace, human dignity and prosperity for all the people of South Africa."

Mr. HAAKONSEN (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries: Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

In the light of the epoch-making political developments in South Africa over the last year and most recently the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, it is very appropriate that we are now debating the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Hopefully, by next year the fulfilment of this goal will render further references to apartheid in this Hall superfluous.

The Nordic countries trust that before the convening of the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly the entire South African people will for the first time in the country's history have exercised their right to vote in general elections, and that a democratically elected government will be in place.

We do not intend to comment in detail on the fundamental political developments which have already taken place and which led to the adoption earlier in this session of the General Assembly of the landmark resolution 48/1. The importance of these developments was further highlighted last week when the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded in Oslo to President De Klerk and Mr. Mandela, President of the African National Council (ANC).

Needless to say, the Nordic countries share the great satisfaction expressed by other delegations with the important agreements reached within the framework of the multi-party negotiations. We also welcome the establishment on 7 December 1993 of the Transitional Executive Council, which will have a crucial role to play in the coming months, in particular in levelling the political field before the elections.

The transition towards a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is now on firm ground. The next important phases are the period leading up to the elections and the period of the consolidation of democracy. It is imperative that the international community, and in particular the United Nations, continue to render assistance in support of this process.

As one of its very first acts, the Transitional Executive Council on 7 December 1993 endorsed a resolution adopted by the Multi-party Negotiating Council containing a request to the international community, including the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the European Union and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), as well as individual Governments, to provide a sufficient number of international observers to monitor the electoral process.

It is vital that the request for electoral assistance be met with an urgent and positive response from the Organization. We appreciate the Secretary-General's timely decision to send, as early as last week, a mission to South Africa in order to discuss in more detail the role of the United Nations in the electoral process and to prepare a cost estimate for such an operation. Considering that the elections are scheduled to take place in little more than four months, it is imperative that a report from the Secretary-General be presented urgently in order for the appropriate decisions to be taken at the earliest possible time.

It is obvious from the decision by the Multi-party Negotiating Council that the United Nations is expected to play a coordinating role in the international monitoring of the electoral process. We fully agree that the United Nations should play such a role, which makes it even more necessary to avoid delays caused by insufficient planning and bureaucratic procedures.

Obviously, the international community cannot ensure that the electoral process will proceed smoothly. We can render assistance, but the prime responsibility rests with the South African people. We urge all parties to participate constructively in this process in order to ensure free and fair elections, and to respect their outcome.

In this context, the high level of political violence gives rise to considerable concern and we call on all parties to refrain from violence and to do their utmost to prevent it from derailing the electoral process. We would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the valuable work carried out by the United Nations and other international observers which have contributed to curbing the political violence in South Africa.

Understandably, the period leading up to and including the elections on 27 April 1994 is the prime object of attention at present. In the view of the Nordic countries, however, consideration of the need for international assistance during the transitional period following the elections should also begin as soon as possible. It is important that a comprehensive analysis of the needs be prepared at an early stage. If necessary the dispatch of a needs-assessment mission could be considered. In any event, we believe that future United Nations assistance to South Africa should be channelled through the existing operational agencies on the same conditions that apply to other countries.

The Nordic countries have already decided to continue to assist South Africa during the transition to democracy and to support its economic and social development following the abolition of apartheid, and we are prepared to make a substantial contribution to the international election-observation effort.

We look forward to the adoption without a vote of the draft resolutions before us and would like to thank the Special Committee, and especially its Chairman, Ambassador Gambari, for its constructive approach to the preparation of the texts. It is important that unanimous international solidarity once again be demonstrated in support of the process towards elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): The question we are gathered here today to consider - a question we have been discussing for more than 40 years now - lies at the heart of the purposes and principles of this Organization. It has to do with peace and justice. It has to do with

self-determination and decolonization, with human rights and democracy.

It is thus extremely gratifying for us to be able to address this question in a strikingly different and more positive mode, with our eyes turned no longer to the evil of racial discrimination and its destabilizing consequences for a whole region, but to the bright outlook, warranted by concrete events, for a new era of justice and democracy in South Africa.

Among the most outstanding achievements of the United Nations we must no doubt include the awareness that the unconscionable doctrine and practice of apartheid, no matter what attempts are made to disguise its horror, in fact represent a blatant and systematic assault on human dignity. The world was outraged by the persistence of apartheid policies in South Africa over a protracted period of time, in defiance of the recommendations and demands of the United Nations. For far too long it was a moral stain on the closing chapters of decolonization in Africa.

I wish to pay a special tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid and its Chairman, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, whose untiring efforts and spirit of leadership enabled the Committee to play a role of fundamental importance in this Organization's struggle against apartheid.

Few are the moments in history when eloquence in the condemnation of evil can be replaced by well-founded expressions of hope for the future. An exceptional moment of precisely this nature is expected to take place in South Africa next April, when genuinely free and democratic and hence non-racial elections are to be held for the first time, marking the complete and definitive replacement of apartheid by government of the whole people, by the whole people, for the whole people.

The long-overdue demise of the apartheid system by means of a negotiated and peaceful transition, and the prospects for the definitive eradication of that system by means of the civil and political enfranchisement of all segments of the South African people, are indeed motives for celebration and for justified gratification by all those who have been contributing with their efforts to the building of a united, non-racial democracy in that African country of the South Atlantic region.

The Brazilian Government pays a most sincere tribute to the South African statesmen who have been ably guiding their people in the building of a new society in peace and justice. Their able leadership of the transition process amidst the dangers of violence, intolerance, political divisions and old prejudices is a most noble undertaking that calls for, and is receiving, the well-deserved recognition of the international community.

The statement made by the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, from this very podium last September before the Special Committee against Apartheid, highlighted the historic significance of the current political developments in South Africa and their impact on the international standing of that country. The Brazilian Government has welcomed the positive developments in the multi-party negotiations over the last several months. In particular, we are encouraged by the decision to hold free and democratic elections on 27 April 1994 and by the agreement reached last month on the adoption of an Interim Constitution for South Africa, which laid the essential groundwork for the continuation of the transition process during its current crucial phase. A historic step was taken with the recent establishment and installation of the Transitional Executive Council, which provides for the participation of the black majority in State affairs during this interim period.

The United Nations has not been slow to respond to these developments. Indeed, in the very first resolution adopted at the current session of the General Assembly, we recognized that the transition to democracy had already been enshrined in the law of South Africa and we therefore decided to lift the sanctions imposed on that country by the General Assembly.

As was pointed out by Mr. Mandela, international sanctions have been instrumental in expediting the end of apartheid. By the same token, it is only appropriate, now that South Africa is bracing to face the new challenges of national reconciliation and economic development, that the international community should also respond accordingly by shifting gears from sanctions towards cooperation. We are aware that the efforts to overcome the legacy of apartheid will require hard work on the part of the brave people of South Africa. International cooperation will have a most important role to play in supporting those efforts.

Brazil looks forward to developing mutually beneficial ties of cooperation with the new South Africa, ties based on geographical proximity, shared human values and a common aspiration for economic and social development. We welcome and support the full participation of South Africa in cooperation efforts within the South Atlantic community of nations.

While we are glad to express our recognition for the outstanding achievements in the South African transition process, it should also be noted that we do share the concern expressed by many South African leaders on the

danger represented by the remaining obstacles to that process, most particularly the problem of violence. The many serious incidents over the past few months have underlined the crucial need for decisive measures to stop the violence and to ensure a peaceful climate for the transition process, particularly during the electoral campaign. We encourage all South African parties to work together to address this most urgent question in earnest, with a view to achieving effective solutions in the short term.

As a member of the Security Council, Brazil has been strongly supportive of the decisions taken within that body to consolidate and strengthen the role played by the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa, which, along with other international observer units, constitutes an important stabilizing presence in South Africa during the current critical period. As indicated in the presidential statement issued by the Security Council on 23 November, it is essential that the United Nations be prepared to consider playing a role in assisting the electoral process in South Africa and that it be ready to give expeditious consideration to a request for assistance in that regard.

In conclusion, while we know full well the difficulty and dimensions of the tasks still to be carried out by the South African people and by its leaders, it cannot pass unnoticed that the debate we are holding this year has the quality of a historic watershed. It is indeed our hope that, in the future, the concept of apartheid will be confined to the history books. Even if its heavy legacy does not disappear overnight, may we always be able to say that such an abhorrent system belongs fully to the past, a past that must never be repeated.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3369 (XXX) of 10 October 1975, I now call on the Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Mr. ANSAY (Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)): At the outset, I would like to thank you, Madam, for giving me the opportunity to address this body on an issue of extreme importance to the Organization of the Islamic Conference: the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

From the beginning, the United Nations has repeatedly affirmed that the policy of apartheid is a crime against humanity, incompatible with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that it seriously undermines international peace and security. I should like to pay a particular tribute at this point to the important role played by the Special Committee against Apartheid and its Chairman, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria. Under his stewardship, and with the help of his able staff, the Special Committee was able to bring about the positive climate that was conducive to the General Assembly's adoption by consensus of this year's omnibus draft resolution.

The Islamic Ummah, represented by the OIC with its membership of 51 countries, inspired by the divine concepts of Islam, also strongly rejected all types of inhuman racial discrimination imposed upon the struggling people of South Africa and against all peoples still suffering under the yoke of racism.

The struggle of the people of South Africa against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid has now entered a crucial phase. The countdown to next April's first multiracial general elections ever, which we hope may usher South Africa into a new democratic and non-racial era, has begun. We note with satisfaction the progress achieved in the Multi-party Negotiating Process on the important issues of the formation of the Transitional Executive Council and the draft interim constitution. The South African Parliament's approval of measures relating to the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and the inauguration of the multiracial Council on 7 December 1993 were welcome developments. The meeting of the 32-member Council marks the effective end of Africa's last bastion of white minority rule.

However, the negative position taken by another party and its allies with regard to the Multi-party Negotiating Process and on the central issues pertaining to South Africa's transition to a democratic, non-racial era, and their non-participation in the meeting of the Transitional Executive Council are matters of concern. It is important that at this crucial juncture all black political organizations pool their efforts and refrain from obstructing the transition process, which would only benefit the white supremacists in their nefarious designs to maintain the status quo.

The recent upsurge in violence in South Africa is also a cause of tremendous concern to the OIC. Such a spiral of violence needs to be checked immediately and effectively.

Following the call made in this Hall by Mr. Nelson Mandela, a true statesman and a valiant freedom-fighter, the General Assembly's unanimous decision to lift all economic sanctions against South Africa was another significant milestone in that country's recent political history.

Now that the sanctions are no longer in force, the international community needs to continue its support for

the African National Congress and other black political organizations in their efforts to seek a peaceful transition to democracy. The United Nations should also be enabled to provide tangible assistance to the Transitional Executive Council in organizing the April elections.

At this important juncture in the history of South Africa I would reiterate that the OIC member States once again affirm their total solidarity and support for the people of South Africa and their political organizations, especially the African National Congress, which has, under the sagacious leadership of Nelson Mandela, made a tremendous contribution to the elimination of the abominable system of apartheid in South Africa. In this context we most heartily congratulate Mr. Mandela and Mr. De Klerk for their joint efforts towards peace, culminating in and crowned by the recent awarding to them of the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of their commendable efforts.

The situation in South Africa has been the subject of attention for all Islamic summit meetings and ministerial conferences, as well as at the annual Coordination Meetings of OIC Foreign Ministers. The last OIC Coordination Meeting of Foreign Ministers, which was held at United Nations Headquarters, after examining the report of Mr. Hamid Algabid, Secretary-General of the OIC, on the situation in South Africa and the report of the meeting of the OIC Committee on South Africa held at United Nations Headquarters on 24 September 1993, once again reaffirmed, in its final communiqué of 29 September 1993, its support for the struggle of the people of South Africa against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid and it expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved in the Multi-party Negotiating Process on the important issues of the formation of the Transitional Executive Council and the draft interim constitution, as well as on the commencement of preparations for the holding of the first general elections on the basis of universal suffrage on 27 April 1994. It emphasized the importance of fostering close relations between OIC member States and South Africa, including its Muslim community, as well as the need to provide economic and technical assistance to South Africa as it ushers in a new non-racial and democratic era. It also authorized the Secretary-General of the OIC to monitor closely the transition process and the April elections.

In conclusion, I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm the continuous and total solidarity of the OIC with the people of South Africa in their struggle for the establishment of a truly democratic society in their country.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

79th PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 14 December 1993
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY
(Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 34 ***(continued)***

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(a) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/522, A/48/607)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/48/L.32, A/48/L.34, A/48/L.46)

The PRESIDENT: Members will recall that the General Assembly concluded its debate on this agenda item at its 68th meeting, held 2 December.

The Assembly has before it three draft resolutions, issued as documents A/48/L.32, A/48/L.34 and A/48/L.46.

I shall call first on the representatives of Norway, the Russian Federation and the United States of America, who will introduce draft resolution A/48/L.32.

Mr. HUSLID (Norway): I have the privilege and pleasure to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.32, entitled "Middle East peace process". I do this together with the Russian Federation and the United States of America, and on behalf of the 87 additional sponsors listed in document A/48/755 and the following additional sponsors: Albania, Barbados, Botswana, Cape Verde, Chile, Costa Rica, Croatia, Ecuador, Estonia, Ethiopia, Fiji, Ghana, Haiti, Madagascar, San Marino, Suriname, Tajikistan and Thailand. This brings the total number of sponsors to 108.

It gives me particular pleasure to introduce this draft resolution because it is one that clearly addresses the future - hopefully, a future of peace and security in the Middle East region. The draft resolution welcomes and gives full support to the achievements of the peace process so far. Particular mention is made of the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements signed by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Agreement between Israel and Jordan on the Common Agenda.

The draft resolution underlines, however, that this is only the initial step - albeit an important one - in achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Perhaps even more important is the emphasis placed in operative paragraph 4 on the need for achieving rapid progress on the other tracks of the Arab-Israeli negotiations within the peace process initiated in Madrid more than two years ago. Those are, on the one hand, the negotiating track between Israel and Syria, for which a promising opening has been made; and, on the other, the one between Israel and Lebanon. With regard to this latter track, where we hope negotiations will not be far off, Security Council resolution 425 (1978) of 19 March 1978 will be an important point of reference. In this connection, I should like to reaffirm my Government's commitment to Lebanon's political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

An important part of the draft resolution before the Assembly is of course also the call upon Member States to provide economic, financial and technical assistance to the

This record is subject to correction.
Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum.

When the result of a recorded and/or roll-call vote is followed by an asterisk, see the annex to the record.

93-87388 (E)

Distr. GENERAL

A/48/PV.79
6 January 1994

ENGLISH

Palestinian people and to States in the region, and to render support for the peace process.

Lastly, I draw members' attention to operative paragraph 7, favouring an active United Nations role in the peace process, as well as to paragraph 8, encouraging regional development and cooperation.

The purpose of this draft resolution is not only to welcome the peace process but also, we hope, to register unanimous support of the United Nations membership for further efforts towards a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. This draft resolution will not make all other resolutions redundant or irrelevant. We are fully aware that many important issues remain to be solved. However, we consider it vitally important that at this critical stage the world community express its support for the peace process through this forum.

We therefore commend the draft resolution for unanimous adoption.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian)*: The delegation of the Russian Federation, as a co-sponsor of the peace process in the Middle East, would like to join in introducing the draft resolution contained in document A/48/L.32 and support the evaluation given the draft resolution by the representative of Norway.

The major objective of the draft resolution is to enhance the achievements made in the peace process in the Middle East and impel the parties to achieve further practical results in all areas of negotiation.

The Russian delegation would like to draw attention to the fact that the draft resolution welcomes the convening in Madrid, on 30 October 1991, of the Peace Conference on the Middle East and emphasizes the importance of, and need for, achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in that region. It is an important matter of principle that what was worked out two years ago in the Madrid Conference - that is, the basic parameters which provide in particular for negotiations on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), as well as the format for the peace process - have proved to be vital and practicable. The bilateral talks and also the meetings of the multilateral working groups under the aegis of the co-sponsors - Russia and the United States - are not easy. All the same, the parties to the conflict are slowly but surely making their way towards the achievement of concrete agreements.

The most important political event of 1993, which took the negotiations to a qualitatively new level, was the mutual recognition by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel, and the signature of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles. This first important success in Arab-Israeli negotiations was achieved thanks in large part to the vigorous efforts of the co-sponsors, the United States and the Russian Federation, to the assistance of other States, especially Norway, and to the willingness of the international community, including the United Nations, to support the shift from confrontation to cooperation in that region.

We now see our principal task as doing everything possible to promote the rapid implementation, without delay, of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration, and the earliest possible agreement on the other two bilateral negotiating tracks. In that connection, the General Assembly, in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, would express its full support for the achievements of the peace process thus far, in particular the Declaration of Principles, and the agreement between Israel and Jordan on the Common Agenda, which constitute an important initial step in achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East, and would urge all parties to implement agreements reached.

No less vital in terms of our search for a comprehensive, lasting settlement is the task of spurring talks between Syria and Israel and between Lebanon and Israel. To achieve success, we obviously require stalwart diplomatic efforts, but the necessary framework has already been defined by the Madrid process. It is well known that Lebanon and Israel are continuing their efforts to reach agreement on a political framework for the settlement of key problems, especially in southern Lebanon. The goals are set out in Security Council resolution 425 (1978), and are supported by the Government of Russia.

We wish to express our satisfaction at the fact that the United States Government has invited representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon to Washington for negotiations at the beginning of next month. Those negotiations, plus additional meetings to take place afterwards, will surely energize the entire peace process.

We need external material support to ensure Palestinian self-rule. In paragraph 5 of the draft resolution the General Assembly would welcome the results of the International Donors Conference to Support Middle East Peace, convened in Washington, D.C., on 1 October 1993, and the establishment of the high-level United Nations task force to support the economic and social development of the Palestinian people, and would urge Member States to provide economic, financial and technical assistance to the Palestinian people during the interim period. In that connection, the Russian Federation places high value on

the outcome of the Washington conference, which determined the scope of and channels for international financial assistance to the Palestinians. That machinery, which is integrated into the peace process, will help achieve an optimal solution and the use of the donated resources to help restore the economy in the Palestinian territories and establish Palestinian self-rule.

Also of great importance is the provision by which the General Assembly would consider that an active United Nations role in the Middle East peace process and in assisting in the implementation of the Declaration of Principles could make a positive contribution. We believe that the United Nations and its specialized agencies, first and foremost the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Children's Fund, have much experience in implementing many kinds of humanitarian and technical programmes in the occupied territories; this experience could be very useful in the implementation of the Declaration of Principles.

We are deeply satisfied that delegations at this session of the General Assembly have correctly grasped the new spirit in the Middle East negotiating process: the point is not to dwell on the past, but to look to the future and to work towards that future calmly and constructively, here and now. We are convinced that with the adoption of this constructive, balanced and non-confrontational draft resolution a new page will be opened in the history of United Nations consideration of the situation in the Middle East, enabling the Organization to be more fully included in the achievement of agreements between Israel and the Palestinians, and in the Middle East peace process in general.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): The draft resolution (A/48/L.32) we offer today would allow the General Assembly, for the first time, to record its support for the Middle East peace process inaugurated in Madrid two years ago. Its adoption would mean that after decades of division and discord, we in this Assembly are now able to speak with one voice about the imperative of a Middle East peace.

By supporting the peace process, the General Assembly would honour the bedrock principles upon which the United Nations Charter resides, while encouraging the Palestinians, Arab States and Israel to continue on the road towards an enduring and comprehensive settlement. We know that violence and rejectionism are easy choices for both Governments and individuals to make. It takes little effort to re-open a scar; it takes time and wisdom to heal one. It is precisely because the path towards a Middle East peace is so rocky and steep that the international support demonstrated by this draft resolution is so urgently required.

It is both necessary and appropriate, therefore, that the world should offer its encouragement to the Madrid process, the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles, the Israeli-Jordan agreed Common Agenda and the process which has followed from those historic commitments. In so doing, we express not only our aspirations, but our confidence that the peace process remains on track.

Israel and the PLO are working hard to find a formula for implementing the principles signed in Washington on 13 September.

Lebanon and Israel are continuing their effort to reach agreement on a political frame of reference dealing with the key issues, especially in southern Lebanon. In that respect, I wish to reaffirm my Government's commitment to Lebanon's political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Those objectives were set forth in Security Council resolution 425 (1978), which my Government supports.

My Government has invited representatives of the Governments of the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon to Washington for discussions with us early next month. These discussions will be followed by simplified and streamlined talks on all tracks between Arabs and Israelis. Expanded negotiations could then resume within weeks.

Taken together, these steps will energize the peace process.

In the draft resolution before us it is recognized that peace is the key to the future in the Middle East; that a lasting peace must be comprehensive; and that an agreement must be associated with tangible improvements in people's lives. My Government continues to support and contribute to international efforts to support the economic and social development of the Palestinian people, and urges economic, financial and technical assistance to States in the region.

The United States is proud to have worked with the representatives of Russia, Norway and many other nations in sponsoring this draft resolution. We invite the representatives of all States to join in expressing support for a just and lasting peace. Let us together give the people of the Middle East greater grounds to hope for what President Clinton called in a statement on 13 September "the quiet miracle of a normal life".

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Indonesia, to introduce draft resolutions A/48/L.34 and A/48/L.46.

Mr. SOEGARDA (Indonesia): It is a distinct honour for me to introduce two draft resolutions under agenda item 34.

The first, contained in document A/48/L.34, on Jerusalem, is being introduced on behalf of Afghanistan, Algeria, Egypt, Indonesia, Jordan, Malaysia, Mauritania, Morocco, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, the Sudan, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen.

The second draft resolution, contained in document A/48/L.46, on the Syrian Golan, is being introduced on behalf of Bahrain, Cuba, Indonesia, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Qatar, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen.

With regard to Jerusalem, the document (A/48/L.34) recalls the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly since 1981, which repudiated in unmistakable terms the so-called "Basic Law". Over the years, however, Israel, the occupying Power, has used the provisions of that "law" in its continuing attempts to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem. In this context, Israel has adopted a number of legislative acts and administrative measures intended to gradually annex Jerusalem, which was proclaimed as its capital.

Furthermore, the draft resolution also recalls Security Council resolution 478 (1980), which also does not recognize the legality, and hence the applicability, of the "Basic Law". In consequence, the operative part determines that the laws, jurisdiction and administration unilaterally imposed upon Jerusalem are not binding on the international community, as they lack any legal basis and are therefore null and void; it also notes the establishment of diplomatic missions in Jerusalem by some Member States in contravention of resolution 478 (1980); and it deplores their refusal to abide by that resolution and renews its call for the implementation of its provisions.

As far as the Syrian Golan is concerned, the draft resolution (A/48/L.46) reaffirms the sacrosanct principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force, as well as the applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. In this context, the draft notes that Israel, instead of complying with Security Council resolution 497 (1981), has instead imposed its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan. Subsequently, the decision by the Knesset on 11 November 1981 to formally annex that Syrian territory cannot but constitute a grave violation not only of that resolution but also of other relevant United Nations resolutions and principles of international law recognized by the community of nations. Undeniably, these ill-advised actions impinging upon the territorial integrity of a State Member of the Organization have ramifications for regional peace and international security.

The draft resolution therefore emphasizes the imperative need on the part of Israel to rescind forthwith all of its illegal actions and decisions in full conformity with the Geneva Convention and the relevant resolutions adopted by the Organization. Finally, the draft resolution urges Israel to withdraw from the occupied Syrian Golan within the framework of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The sponsors of both draft resolutions sincerely hope that Member States will accord serious consideration to their adoption and thereby enhance the prospects for peace in the region.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Belgium, who has asked to speak on the draft resolutions before us on behalf of the European Union.

Mr. NOTERDAEME (Belgium) *(interpretation from French)*: I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union.

The European Union is pleased that the General Assembly is finally being called upon to give its full support to the Middle East peace process with a view to reaching a just, lasting and comprehensive peace for the entire region. The mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Declaration of Principles of 13 September last are an important first step in that direction. To this end, the European Union confirms its intention to support the peace process by mobilizing the political, economic and financial resources of the Union in a joint action, especially in the areas of international arrangements and of strengthening the democratic process stemming from the Israeli-Palestinian agreement. As the major provider of assistance to the occupied territories, the European Union will work for the speedy, effective and transparent provision of assistance. In the framework of the multilateral talks, the European Union will continue its activity for the consolidation of peace by establishing regional cooperation.

We are following with great interest the improvement of the situation in Lebanon, where stability is still fragile, however, for lack of a comprehensive settlement, so long awaited, for the benefit of the entire Middle East region.

We continue to urge the complete restoration of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon. The European Union would like to recall that for many years now it has been insisting on the full implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978), adopted on 19 March 1978. We encourage all the parties to make progress in bilateral negotiations and to bring them to a successful conclusion.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Oman, who will speak on behalf of the Arab States.

Mr. AL-SAMEEN (Oman) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: This month we have the honour to chair the Arab Group, made up of the following countries: the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Tunisia, Algeria, Kuwait, Morocco, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Mauritania, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Jordan, Lebanon, Djibouti, the Comoros, Somalia, Qatar, Palestine and my country, Oman.

On behalf of the Group, I wish to declare our full solidarity with Lebanon on the need to implement Security Council resolution 425 (1978) and on the need to refer to that resolution in the draft resolution in document A/48/L.32 on the peace process in the Middle East.

The Arab Group has made great efforts, together with the original sponsors of the draft resolution - the United States, the Russian Federation and Norway - to ensure the inclusion in the draft resolution of a reference to resolution 425 (1978), because that resolution was the basis upon which Lebanon entered the peace talks at the Madrid Conference. We regret to inform the Assembly that these attempts of ours were not successful and that our proposal was rejected.

That stance has made it impossible to reach consensus on the sponsoring of the draft resolution. The Arab Group was strongly desirous of achieving that consensus as the aim of the draft resolution, in our belief, was to move the peace process forward and to ensure its success. The Arab Group reiterates its resolute support of Lebanon with regard to the need to implement Security Council resolution 425 (1978), without which there can be no just, comprehensive and durable peace in the Middle East, the sort of peace we all aspire after and work for.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): France, like the other members of the European Union - on whose behalf the representative of Belgium spoke earlier - welcomed with great satisfaction the recent developments in the situation in the Middle East, in particular the agreement signed in Washington, D.C., on 13 September 1993. That is why from the very outset we associated ourselves with the idea of drafting an additional resolution which, in spirit, would hail these developments.

Moreover, my country had hoped that all the resolutions on the Middle East which the General Assembly normally considers might be reviewed and adapted to the new context. In this respect, the assessment of the current situation, though far from negative, could have been improved by reducing the number of these texts or by deleting or merging them, as well as by changing their tone more markedly.

Regarding the additional draft resolution itself, we unreservedly support it but have decided not to be a co-sponsor. Our decision can be attributed to the fact that it does not refer to Security Council resolution 425 (1978). Indeed, we attach special significance to the fate of Lebanon and believe that, within the framework of a settlement in the Middle East, that country must be enabled to regain its sovereignty and independence within its internationally recognized borders, which would require the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces currently stationed there. That is precisely what is implied in resolution 425 (1978). We therefore regret that the importance of this essential text has not been stressed on the solemn occasion of today's adoption of the additional draft resolution.

My country has always felt that the United Nations should play a central role in any Middle East settlement. In political terms, this implies in particular that all aspects of the issue should be taken into consideration and that no one should be forgotten. The principles set down in resolution 425 (1978) were included in the Madrid negotiations. They should not be omitted at a crucial moment in the peace process, when Israel is more than ever before prepared to implement this text, its leaders having asserted on several occasions that they have no territorial claims against Lebanon.

If it is to endure, any peace settlement must indeed be comprehensive and just. All the countries of the region must be included in such a settlement. Progress has already been achieved in the Israeli-Jordanian negotiations, particularly with the adoption of a common agenda on 14 September. On the other hand, the negotiations with Syria and Lebanon do not seem to have made any headway.

For its part, France will fully support the implementation of the Declaration of Principles of 13 September 1993, especially in the area of assistance to the Palestinians in the establishment of interim self-rule. My country hopes to see parallel progress in the other negotiations and will continue to support the negotiating

process, in particular by hosting in Paris the Israeli-Palestinian economic group.

The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to consider draft resolutions A/48/L.32, A/48/L.34 and A/48/L.46.

I shall call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote before the voting. May I remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. MAKKAWI (Lebanon): As is well known, Lebanon has suffered tremendously as a result of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the absence of peace in the Middle East. By the same token, we have much to gain from the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region. It is our hope and prayer that the peace process launched in Madrid will succeed.

Allow me to explain why my Government is not in a position to support draft resolution A/48/L.32, which makes no mention of Security Council resolution 425 (1978). We shall vote against it for the following reasons.

Lebanon agreed to participate in the Madrid Conference and the subsequent rounds of negotiations in Washington, D.C., on the basis of Security Council resolution 425 (1978). This was confirmed by the letter of assurances, dated 18 October 1991, from the Government of the United States to the Government of Lebanon. Subsequently, Lebanon entered the peace process with an open mind and an open heart and participated in a positive and constructive manner. This was done on the clear understanding that the Middle East peace process would provide the framework to convince Israel once and for all to implement Security Council resolution 425 (1978).

It should be pointed out that Lebanon was not party to the wars of 1967 and 1973. As a result, neither Security Council resolution 242 (1967) or resolution 338 (1973) nor the "land for peace" formula is applicable to Lebanon. Therefore, Security Council resolution 425 (1978) must be mentioned in this draft resolution on the Middle East peace process if the Assembly is seriously to consider the draft resolution to be a show of support for the Madrid Conference and the subsequent bilateral negotiations with the purpose of achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

After all, it is absurd that Lebanon, an essential participant in the Middle East peace process for more than two years, should find Security Council resolution 425 (1978) omitted from a General Assembly resolution on the Middle East peace process.

The Lebanese delegation and the entire Arab Group have worked very hard to impress upon the sponsors of draft resolution A/48/L.32 the imperative of including a reference to Security Council resolution 425 (1978) in the preamble, for the reasons I have mentioned related to Lebanon's participation in the Madrid Conference and subsequent bilateral negotiations. If the draft resolution is adopted as it stands, it can be misconstrued to mean that Lebanon participated in the Madrid Conference and subsequent negotiations on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which is contrary to the facts I have just stated.

Unfortunately, however, all our efforts were in vain, because the same Member State that refuses to implement Security Council resolution 425 (1978) has been allowed to block any reference to it - this despite the fact that that resolution is as essential to the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East as are Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). No country has ever contested Security Council resolution 425 (1978); indeed, its validity is reaffirmed every six months by the Council when it votes to extend the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and reaffirms its commitment to the full sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries.

Lebanon had keenly hoped that a resolution on the Middle East peace process could be adopted by consensus, because we believe that the aim of such a resolution is basically to support and enhance the chance for peace. Unfortunately, Lebanon could not give this draft resolution its blessing, for the reasons I have just mentioned. In any case, we are ready to continue, and committed to continuing, the bilateral negotiations until there is a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 425 (1978). We will, however, continue to refrain from entering into multilateral negotiations until there is real progress in the bilateral negotiations.

In conclusion, I take this opportunity to appeal to all Members of the United Nations, and in particular the members of the Security Council, to see to it that Security Council resolution 425 (1978) is implemented, for the sake of that precious peace which we all so genuinely desire.

Mr. AWAD (Syrian Arab Republic) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: Syria has affirmed its commitment to the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace in the

Middle East on the basis of international legality, the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and in keeping with the Madrid formula.

Syria remains committed to the achievement of that goal. Syria, therefore, cannot agree to a draft resolution on the entire peace process in the Middle East that does not make reference to Security Council resolution 425 (1978), concerning Lebanon, which participated in the Madrid Conference and subsequent bilateral peace talks in Washington on the basis of that resolution.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to announce that Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea-Bissau have become sponsors of draft resolution A/48/L.32.

The Assembly will now take decisions on draft resolutions A/48/L.32, A/48/L.34 and A/48/L.46.

We turn first to draft resolution A/48/L.32, entitled "Middle East peace process".

We shall now begin the voting process. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Latvia, Lesotho, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Micronesia (Federated States of), Monaco, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, San Marino, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Iran (Islamic Republic of), Lebanon, Syrian Arab Republic

Abstaining: Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

Draft resolution A/48/L.32 was adopted by 155 votes to 3, with 1 abstention (resolution 48/58).

The PRESIDENT: We turn next to draft resolution A/48/L.34, entitled "Jerusalem".

We shall now begin the voting process. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Croatia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gambia, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Latvia, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Monaco, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, San Marino, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania,

Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Israel

Abstaining: Botswana, Fiji, Ghana, Iceland, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, United States of America

Draft resolution A/48/L.34 was adopted by 141 votes to 1, with 11 abstentions (resolution 48/59 A).

The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution A/48/L.46, entitled "Syrian Golan".

We shall now begin the process. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Chad, China, Comoros, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Djibouti, Egypt, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Myanmar, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Saint Lucia, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zimbabwe

Against: Israel, United States of America

Abstaining: Albania, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Estonia, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mexico, Micronesia (Federated States of), Monaco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, San Marino, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zambia

Draft resolution A/48/L.46 was adopted by 65 votes to 2, with 83 abstentions (resolution A/48/59 B).

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes on the draft resolutions just adopted. May I remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. WALKER (United States of America): My Government's views are well known on resolutions that speak conclusively to issues under direct negotiation between parties in the region. The Assembly should support the process of those negotiations in order to allow the parties to resolve their differences directly, without prejudging the outcome of the negotiations.

My Government is disappointed by the adoption of draft resolution A/48/L.46, concerning the Golan Heights. We had hoped that this draft resolution would not be voted upon this year. My Government voted in favour of Security Council resolution 497 (1981), on the status of the Golan Heights. Israel and Syria will engage again early next year in bilateral negotiations. The United States believes that it is important not to prejudge or prejudice the outcome of those negotiations. My Government opposes any language which could be considered as prejudging the outcome of the negotiations.

The United States has long maintained that it is essential to pursue a comprehensive and just peace. We are committed to our role as full partner and active intermediary in the Arab-Israeli peace process. Our efforts centre on building a comprehensive, just and lasting peace for all the people of the region.

The breakthroughs of this autumn have greatly changed traditional approaches to the Arab-Israeli conflict. At this important moment, we want to avoid focusing on issues or statements that divide and polarize. We want the parties of the region to address their differences at the negotiating table. As has been our practice in the past, the United States abstained in the voting on draft resolution A/48/L.34, concerning Jerusalem. We are convinced that Jerusalem must remain undivided, but that its final status should be decided through negotiations. This text uses unduly harsh language that can only polarize and divide. Instead of addressing the issue in the manner of this resolution, the parties have agreed that Jerusalem will be addressed in the final status negotiations.

The United States is committed to the goal of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace settlement, achieved through direct negotiations based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). The actions of the parties in the region demonstrate that the hard work of peacemaking is under way. The parties can succeed through political resolve and in a spirit of give and take. The General Assembly should give its fullest support to this process without trying to prejudge the outcome.

Mr. RAHIM (Bangladesh): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/48/L.32, on the Middle East process.

We agree that the resolution rightly stresses the importance of, and the need for, achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It is our understanding that the resolution takes into account all relevant Security Council resolutions on this matter, including resolutions 425 (1978) and 497 (1981).

Mr. ABOLHASSANI SHAHREZA (Islamic Republic of Iran): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolutions contained in documents A/48/L.34 and A/48/L.46. However, I should like to express my delegation's reservations on those parts of the resolutions which might be construed as a recognition of Israel.

Regarding the subject of the draft resolution contained in document A/48/L.32, the position of my Government is on record. I should just like to mention that we believe the recent agreements will not lead to the full restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Moreover, the resolution makes no reference to the withdrawal of occupying forces from Lebanon.

Mr. GUILLEN (Peru) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The reasons for my delegation's vote on draft resolution A/48/L.32 are clear from the preamble and the operative parts of the draft resolution. However, I feel that it is important for me to state how much Peru welcomes the decisions and agreements of September last. We consider that they constitute a significant change in international circumstances. While they are but one step of the process, they are a fundamental one. We also believe that they will have an increasing effect on all the draft resolutions the United Nations will have before it in the future. In addition, we believe that the talks with other countries involved in the Middle East question will also benefit from this process, to the extent that everyone supports it in a cooperative and constructive way.

Mr. AMER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolutions contained in documents A/48/L.34 and A/48/L.46. My delegation wishes to put on record, however, that our voting must not be construed in any way as recognition of those who are occupying the land of Palestine.

My delegation abstained from voting on draft resolution A/48/L.32 because we believe that this draft resolution does not include the necessary elements for the achievement of a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. This resolution does not take into consideration the continued occupation by Israelis of south Lebanon and their refusal to withdraw from Lebanon in implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978).

We are for peace, peace that is comprehensive and just and that would bring about Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and would guarantee the achievement of all the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people: its right to return to its land to exercise self-determination, and to establish its own independent State in Palestine, with Al-Quds as its capital.

Mr. ELTINAY (Sudan) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: The delegation of Sudan voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/48/L.32 because of our commitment to the Arab choice in the search for a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. This is the same attitude we expressed when we viewed the Declaration of Principles as a Palestinian choice which must be respected by Sudan.

The Arab Foreign Ministers considered the aforementioned agreement a step towards the establishment of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. However, my delegation considers it unfortunate that the co-sponsors of the draft resolution did not accept the proposal of the Arab Group to include in it a mention of Security Council resolution 425 (1978) so that it would reflect the desire of the international community to achieve a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. Lebanon's request that a reference to resolution 425 (1978) be included is a legitimate one because that is the resolution on the basis of which Lebanon started the peace process and engaged in the negotiations that have taken and continue to take place with Israel on the implementation of that very resolution.

My delegation wishes to voice its strong support for this legitimate request by Lebanon and for Lebanon's right to liberate Southern Lebanon from Israeli occupation through the full implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978). My delegation also wishes to voice its conviction that a just, permanent and comprehensive peace in the Middle East cannot be established except after a full Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied since

1967, including Al-Quds, and by the full respect of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the implementation of all relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

Mr. JANSEN (Canada): Canada is pleased to have joined in the co-sponsorship of the new resolution under item 34, recognizing the recent achievements of the Middle East peace process. We applaud the courageous steps taken by Israel and the Palestinians with the signing of the Declaration of Principles, and by Israel and Jordan with their common agenda.

Canada encourages regional parties to continue negotiations to implement these existing agreements and to conclude new ones in order to achieve our goal of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. We are confident that Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) will come to a mutually acceptable compromise regarding the timing of Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories.

With respect to Lebanon, Canada continues to support Security Council resolution 425 (1978) and the Taif Agreement as they relate to the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces from Lebanon. We look forward to the participation of both Syria and Lebanon in the multilateral peace process. Canada recognizes that difficult issues remain to be resolved. However, it is our hope that at the next session of the General Assembly we may all be able to voice our support for further progress towards a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote after the vote.

I would like to congratulate the Assembly on the adoption of the resolutions before us today. They represent a very important advance in the Middle East peace process.

May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 34?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 151 (*continued*)

UNITED NATIONS INITIATIVE ON OPPORTUNITY AND PARTICIPATION: DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.19/Rev.1)

The PRESIDENT: Members will recall that the Assembly concluded its debate on this agenda item at its 57th meeting, held on 17 November.

The Assembly has before it a draft resolution issued as document A/48/L.19/Rev.1. I call on the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to introduce the draft resolution.

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania): Before introducing draft resolution A/48/L.19/Rev.1, I should like to make the following correction to the last preambular paragraph, on page 3. The words from "including" to "participation", inclusive, should be replaced by "including document A/48/544 of 26 October 1993". The preambular paragraph will then read as follows:

> "Taking special note of the request dated 28 April 1993 for the inclusion of the present item in the provisional agenda of the forty-eighth session, and all related documents on the United Nations initiative on opportunity and participation, including document A/48/544 of 26 October 1993".

Mr. President, it was a great honour for me to be asked by you to chair the Open-ended Working Group charged with the task of coordinating the informal consultations on this agenda item, and specifically on draft resolution A/48/L.19. I am very happy to report that, due to the cooperative spirit and open and friendly nature of the participants in our consultations, we were able to accomplish our task in a matter of only two working meetings of the Working Group.

In order to facilitate the work of the Working Group, an Open-ended Drafting Group was constituted. It included delegations from Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Finland, Guyana, India, Papua New Guinea and Thailand. Delegations of other interested countries also joined the Drafting Group, which conducted its work in an atmosphere of friendliness, with useful contributions and guidance from the initiator of this resolution, namely, the delegation of Papua New Guinea.

The outcome of these consultations is draft resolution A/48/L.19/Rev.1, which was adopted by consensus by the Open-ended Working Group at its second and final meeting. For the record, I would like to point out that the language of operative paragraph 3 takes into account the outcome of discussions on Economic and Social Council resolution 1993/81 of 30 July 1993 and the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 47/191 of 22 December 1992. Discussions are now going on in the Council on a proposal for the establishment of a group of experts on development planning. This language leaves room for accommodating the outcome of these discussions.

From the outset the Working Group recognized the important contribution which the initiative could make to

the ongoing efforts to develop an agenda for development. It therefore devoted considerable attention to ensuring that a proper link was established between the present initiative and an agenda for development.

To conclude, allow me to express my profound gratitude to my colleague and friend, Ambassador Renagi Renagi Lohia of Papua New Guinea, for his tireless efforts and flexibility, which ensured that every delegation had an opportunity to participate in the consultations, which enabled this resolution to become a consensus text. I would also like to thank all delegations which participated in the meetings of the Open-ended Working Group and the members of the Drafting Group for making my work so easy and most rewarding. Finally, I would like to thank you, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to preside over the consultations on this very important agenda item on the United Nations initiative on opportunity and participation.

I commend draft resolution A/48/L.19/Rev.1 to the Assembly and urge its adoption by consensus.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to announce that the following countries have become co-sponsors of draft resolution A/48/L.19/Rev.1: Argentina, Belize, Cape Verde, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, India, Madagascar, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Paraguay and the Republic of Korea.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/48/L.19/Rev.1. May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt the draft resolution by consensus?

Draft resolution A/48/L.19/Rev.1 was adopted (resolution 48/60).

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): May I take this opportunity to thank you, Sir, and your Government most sincerely for the support and encouragement that you have given to my delegation and me in developing and promoting this initiative on opportunity and participation to its successful conclusion in the adoption by consensus of resolution A/48/L.19/Rev.1 by the Assembly today.

The winds of democratic change have swept the entire globe in recent times, and my Government commends those who have been instrumental in bringing about the exercise of human freedom and human rights by all our peoples throughout the world. Popular and wider political participation in all our countries is giving to individuals, communities and all our countries opportunities that were once not available to them. However, translating democratic freedoms into their social, economic and development realities is still very difficult today. Empowering all our peoples and societies so that they can benefit from development opportunities is most vital in today's world. We must all join hands through this important consensus to encourage and bring about genuine development from the bottom up, centred around people.

My delegation and I are grateful to Mr. Anthony Nyakyi, Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania and Vice-President of the General Assembly, who brilliantly led the interested parties and delegations to this important consensus on the draft resolution.

We would also like to express our sincere gratitude to the members of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Group of 77, the Organization of African Unity, through the African Group, the European Union, the Group of Western European and Other States, the Association of South-East Asian Nations and the South Pacific Forum and their respective Chairmen or Presidents for their vital contributions to and support for this initiative and the resolution. Accordingly, on behalf of my Government and people, I would like to take this opportunity to say "Thank you" and to request their continued partnership in the implementation of this resolution from the beginning of 1994.

My Government and our delegation are also grateful to the United Nations and its specialized agencies, especially the United Nations Development Programme, which effectively participated in the development of this initiative on opportunity and participation.

My Government requests similar interest and partnership from other United Nations agencies and international and regional organizations in the further development of this initiative. In this regard, we hope that the forthcoming international conferences on the sustainable development of small island developing States, on population and development, and on women, and the World Summit for Social Development will encourage and develop opportunity and participation as a theme for their proceedings.

Finally, my Government and our delegation would like to express our special gratitude and appreciation to the sponsors of the resolution on opportunity and participation and to the members of the General Assembly for their generous and genuine support. I wish them all a very merry Christmas and a prosperous 1994, which I hope will see the fruits of this resolution, increase development opportunities and widen the participation of all our peoples and countries.

The PRESIDENT: Let me sincerely thank the Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Anthony B. Nyakyi, for having undertaken urgent consultations on my behalf, which led to the consensus adoption today of the draft resolution introduced by the representative of Papua New Guinea, whom I also wish to thank for his very ready cooperation.

May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 151?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEMS 38 *(continued)* AND 39 *(continued)*

ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/48/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/48/43)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/467 and Add.1, A/48/523, A/48/691)

(d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL AND DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE (FOURTH COMMITTEE) (A/48/657)

(e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/48/L.29, A/48/L.30, A/48/L.31/Rev.1, A/48/L.36)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/524)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.37)

Mr. RAKOTONDRAMBOA (Madagascar) *(interpretation from French):* Despite the ups and downs in the multi-party negotiations, 1993 has proved to be a decisive turning-point in the process towards the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Thanks to the progress that has been made and to the adoption of the 23 September law creating a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) mandated to supervise the establishment of a democratic order in South Africa, the international community was able to grant the request made in person by Mr. Nelson Mandela to lift economic sanctions.

The beginning of that Council's work, on 8 December, also allowed us to lift the oil embargo, and it is our understanding that the South African Parliament is now debating the transitional constitution and will grant the right to vote to all South African adults, which is a vital prerequisite for the elections scheduled for 27 April 1994. Three independent subsidiary bodies of the TEC - the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority - will begin their work soon. History will recall the creation of those bodies as milestones in the irreversible process of eliminating apartheid.

We commend the political parties and other groupings whose perseverance and patient quest for viable compromise enabled them to overcome the obstacles in their way and to break the deadlock. We appeal to the parties that have eschewed the negotiations to join the camp of reason and moderation and make their contribution to the building of a new South Africa.

Despite these encouraging developments, the fragility of the process can be seen in daily events. South Africa must face challenges it can meet only through the voluntary mobilization of all sectors of the population, united in pursuit of a common objective. Moreover, it must invest a large measure of its resources in redressing the social and economic imbalances that divide South African society.

The ongoing political violence is the main obstacle to the advance of democracy in South Africa. That violence is all too well organized, all too quick to act, and all too precise in its choice of victims; it is no mere matter of happenstance or simply a reaction by the people - even in a country where violence remains one of the most visible legacies of the apartheid regime. Nothing will stop it so long as political leaders sustain a harmful climate of mistrust, with mutual accusations of conspiracy and with apologists for racial hatred hoping to perpetuate their privileges and protect their interests.

Mr. Ansari (India), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Today, South Africa is at a crossroads. Its political leaders bear a great responsibility. The violence is not insurmountable: political will and transparency could help contain it. The leaders should begin by implementing the measures set out in the National Peace Accord and respecting the code of conduct they endorsed. Opting for an armed solution can lead only to desolation, economic ruin and the death of countless hapless individuals. With

the doleful example of neighbouring States in mind, we encourage all races to come together and work together for a common future.

My delegation agrees that no country can live in stability and security when social disparities are too blatant. That is an even more menacing notion as it applies to South Africa, where the apartheid regime created far too wide a gap between blacks and whites. The viability of the peace process and the solidity of South Africa's democratic future largely depend on the priority that will be given to measures and programmes to improve the living conditions of the majority of the population. Lacking social security and salary guarantees and unable even to benefit from such basic technological progress as running water and electricity, that population continues to live in desperate poverty.

For more than four decades the United Nations has denounced apartheid and supported the liberation movements; it has provided resources and kept the international community vigilant in the campaign against apartheid. We are pleased to see that it is determined to complete the job.

The delegation of Madagascar takes this opportunity to congratulate the Special Committee against Apartheid on its tireless efforts in favour of the dispossessed people of South Africa. Through statements and protests, symposiums, seminars and missions, the Special Committee, with the patience of water dripping on a rock, has finally pierced the granite of apartheid.

Recently, the Special Committee co-sponsored the Symposium on Political Tolerance in South Africa: Role of Opinion-makers and the Media. Participants laid stress on the decisive role the audio-visual media can play, if impartial, in the preparation and education of voters, especially as certain broadcasters can provide information in local dialects. Broadcasts of that kind would supplement United Nations civic educational programmes, enabling voters to go to the polls with a full knowledge of the facts.

Notwithstanding the scope and complexity of the task, the United Nations has responded to the expectations of the South African people by dispatching the United Nations Observer Mission to South African (UNOMSA), which is working in cooperation with observers from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Commonwealth and the European Union to create a climate more favourable to political tolerance.

We also welcome the fact that the Organization has agreed to the request for electoral assistance made by the provisional authorities in South Africa and plans to take a decision without delay on the role it will play in the electoral process.

My delegation subscribes to the recommendation to assist the States that have been victims of the destructive policies once pursued by the apartheid regime, the effects of which persist to this day. We support the appeal for humanitarian, technical and financial assistance to enable those countries to rise again from the ashes of war.

Madagascar joins the international community in expressing its warmest congratulations to the Nobel Peace Prize laureates for 1933, President De Klerk and Mr. Mandela. We hope that each and every South African will follow the example of those two outstanding men and succeed, after the eradication of apartheid, in overcoming the existing differences to create a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Mr. MOTOMURA (Japan): I find it profoundly gratifying to address the Assembly on the issue of the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We have indeed reached a historic juncture. When I addressed this issue at last year's session of the General Assembly, the situation in South Africa was precarious. Owing to increasing violence the multi-party negotiations had been suspended and there was a real danger that the momentum for positive change would be lost. Fortunately, however, over the course of the past year genuine progress has been made towards establishing a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. On 1 April, after 10 months of suspension, the Multi-party Negotiating Process resumed. The negotiations, which brought together 26 parties, provided a framework for the most representative gathering in South African history, truly a milestone on the path to full democracy.

The negotiations succeeded in setting a date for South Africa's first-ever non-racial and democratic election and in taking historic decisions on a Transitional Executive Council (TEC), on Independent Electoral and Media Commissions, on an Independent Broadcasting Commission and on an interim constitution for the transitional period. The TEC, formally established just last week, will enable all the people of South Africa to participate in the process of determining the destiny of their country. Japan heartily welcomes each of these developments, and commends all parties for not allowing violence and intimidation to disrupt the negotiations.

It was this positive atmosphere that enabled the General Assembly to lift all economic sanctions against

South Africa. Its consensus decision was taken with the guidance of Mr. Nelson Mandela and, I might add, with his blessing. Every effort must be made to maintain this momentum. In particular, I should like to stress the importance of ensuring that the elections will be held as scheduled on 27 April 1994 in a free, fair, and peaceful manner. Japan joins the international community in urging all parties, including those that did not participate fully in the multi-party talks, to respect the agreements reached in the negotiations, to reaffirm their commitment to democratic principles, and to participate in the elections. Any outstanding issues must be resolved through negotiations.

I should be remiss if I did not comment on the violence that is continuing, sometimes at unprecedented levels. Indeed, between July 1992 and June 1993, violence has claimed more than 3,000 lives and has spread fear and anguish throughout the country. The recent pattern of wanton atrocity suggests that it may be attributed to other than political motives, a source of additional concern to us. My Government calls upon all parties to exercise utmost restraint and to do their best to combat violence wherever and for whatever reason it may occur. The South African authorities should be urged to exercise fully and impartially their primary responsibility of protecting the lives, security and property of all South Africans.

Japan commends the work being done by the Secretary-General and the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) in assisting the process of peaceful democratic change. We welcome the recent decision to reinforce UNOMSA. We also note with appreciation the genuine contributions that observers from the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union are making to building a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. It is essential for the international community to assist in the coming elections to ensure their success. Japan joins other States in inviting the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Security Council and in coordination with other observer missions, to accelerate planning for a United Nations role in the election process.

Japan has consistently supported the South African people in their peaceful struggle to attain their fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms. It has seized every opportunity to encourage the parties to participate fully in multi-party talks and to resolve outstanding issues by strictly peaceful means. We will continue to do so.

Over the years my Government has also extended, on a bilateral as well as multilateral basis, assistance to the victims of apartheid and to the efforts of the South African people to overcome their serious socio-economic problems, particularly in the areas of education, employment and health. As a member of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, for example, Japan has actively contributed to its work and this year contributed $660,000 to its programmes. As a matter of fact, in fiscal year 1993 we allocated approximately $5 million for assistance to the people of South Africa.

I should like to conclude my remarks by quoting from the statement which President Nelson Mandela, recipient of the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize, made in this Hall in September of this year. Commenting on the heinous practice of apartheid, he declared:

> "The historic need to end this crime as speedily and peacefully as possible requires that we, the peoples of the world, should remain as united as we have been and as committed as we have been to the cause of democracy, peace, human dignity and prosperity for all the people of South Africa."

Japan wholeheartedly joins the international community in its support of South Africa's peaceful struggle to achieve these precious goals.

Mr. QADER (Bangladesh): After decades of agony and deprivation suffered by the majority people of South Africa, the recent positive and progressive political developments there are a welcome change. That the abhorrent and despicable policy of apartheid, the forced degradation of man by man on the basis of colour alone, has been discarded should not only come as a relief to the rest of the world who believe in the inherent dignity of man and the equality of all mankind, but should also serve as a warning to those who are bent upon perpetuating such notorious practices in other forms, such as "ethnic cleansing". "Ethnic cleansing" will be rejected in the same manner as fascism, nazism and apartheid have been rejected by the international community.

President De Klerk's announcement on the abolition of apartheid on 2 February 1990 was a turning-point in the history of South Africa. It is indeed commendable that, through three years of patient and sincere negotiations, the majority of parties with diverse political outlooks have been able to achieve consensus on an acceptable democratic form of governance for South Africa in its transition from apartheid. The most significant achievement of these negotiations was the agreement to hold the first-ever democratic elections in South Africa on 27 April 1994. Now, for the first time, all South Africans will have the right to vote on the basis of adult suffrage and to elect candidates of their choice to the various organs of government. Also reflecting positive progress was the

agreement on an Independent Electoral Commission and an Independent Media Commission for ensuring free and fair elections, and the enactment into law by the South African parliament on 23 September 1993 of the agreements reached on the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council covering key areas of government. My delegation is happy to note that the Council has already become operational and had its first formal meeting on 8 December 1993. It is also gratifying to note that, for their historic role in all these developments, Mr. Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk have been jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize this year.

Although much has been attained which augurs well for the people of South Africa, what seriously concerns us now is the ongoing political violence costing further lives of men, women and innocent children in that country. These human sufferings are indeed unfortunate at a time when all parties concerned were expected to build bridges of good human relations, essential now for the conduct of successful nationwide elections. These developments oblige us to be cautious and not to relax international vigilance on the transition to a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The value of the presence of United Nations and other international observer missions at the South African elections at this crucial phase can hardly be overemphasized. Security Council resolution 772 (1992) is commendable, since with this measure the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Community collectively have more than 100 personnel to monitor the electoral process in South Africa. However, as the election day draws nearer, we believe that it is absolutely necessary to deploy a large number of international election monitors for an extended period of time to ensure that political groups may organize freely, that rallies may take place peacefully and that ordinary citizens are free from intimidation and pressure.

We hope that the South Africans, with the support and assistance of the international presence, will be able to create an environment of peace, security and calm by containing the present violence, so that the voters will feel safe and secure enough during the elections to appear and vote at the polling centres. Efforts must therefore begin now, with the South African Government and all parties abiding wholeheartedly by the letter and spirit of the provisions of the National Peace Accord and thereby strengthening the peace structures provided for in the Accord. For its part, the United Nations may wish to consider substantially increasing police and civilian monitors in the period leading up to the elections and to make provisions for continuing the performance of their duties several months thereafter.

The United Nations, and particularly the General Assembly, may wish to bring their tremendous good will to bear on the elements inside South Africa that wish to stay outside the multi-party negotiating process there and to encourage them to join the process in the greater interest of every citizen of South Africa, so that the violence that has long stalked them can be banished for ever from their midst.

Finally, my delegation would like to commend the role played by the Special Committee against Apartheid in the whole process of creating a non-racist and democratic South Africa. We hope that, as desired by Mr. Thabo Mbeki, Chairperson of the African National Congress, the mandate of that Committee will be extended until a democratically elected government of South Africa has been installed. This will be a fitting finale to the difficult challenge that the international community once undertook to help the cause of the majority South Africans and the anti-apartheid movement through equally difficult and prejudiced times.

The United Nations is on the threshold of witnessing in South Africa a victory for all mankind. May it succeed for the benefit of all.

Mr. TENNE (Israel): The question before us today is no longer how best to combat the rapidly expiring phenomenon of apartheid, but rather how to dispose of its remnants most effectively and ensure that the period of transition to a democratic, non-racial and post-apartheid South Africa is brought about as harmlessly and peacefully as possible. To that end, we must no longer seek to censure and sanction, but must actively pursue reconciliation and compromise, as is properly reflected in this year's draft resolutions. We should try to help South Africa hold its steady course to election day and not allow treacherous undercurrents to set it adrift, for on 27 April 1994 South Africa has a rendezvous with destiny, when apartheid will be finally and irrevocably buried at the ballot box.

This has to be one of the most encouraging and optimistic developments of our age. Of course, the road is fraught with risk and danger. There will no doubt be obstacles, reversals and, unfortunately, violence. But the trend is unmistakably clear and the goal will be inevitably reached, thanks in no small measure to the diligent efforts of the international community and the United Nations.

But recognition must be given first and foremost to the heroic sacrifice of generations and millions of South

Africans suffering under the yoke of apartheid. Their triumph is a special victory for all Africans. For the people of Israel, who this week are celebrating the festival of Chanukah, commemorating their own historic deliverance from oppression, this is a significant moment at which to express our admiration and offer our congratulations to the people of South Africa as they travel the final miles on the long road to freedom.

The signposts on this road have been encouraging. From the landmark release of Nelson Mandela, through the institution of the National Peace Accord and the multi-party negotiations, the dismantling of the legal apartheid structure, the deployment of the United Nations Observer Mission, down to the recent lifting of various sanctions, the adoption of a draft constitution and the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, we are indeed witnessing the irreversible march to full democracy.

The present and continuing labour of nation-building requires extraordinary qualities of vision, leadership and political skill: leadership that can seize on promise and opportunity, inspire faith in followers, control fear and suspicion and overcome competing interests. The process of liberation can release tremendous passion that leads to violence. Ethnic and cultural diversity, while a blessing to any pluralistic society, may also breed distrust and divisiveness in difficult times. Unruly extremists may be tempted to foment disorder and backlash with the intent of subverting political progress.

It is times like these that put to the test the leadership and the determination, perseverance and patience of statesmen like President F. W. de Klerk and African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela, who, together, have rightly earned the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize. The Government and people of Israel have applauded that award and wish these two leaders all success in accomplishing their historic mission. They represent the unshakeable faith that can bridge the racial divide, reconcile opponents and assure a peaceful and stable transition which will allow all parties to participate in the formation of a new society, where all can expect to receive their fair share.

Israel stands ready to assist in this great undertaking by helping to prepare members of the disenfranchised majority of South Africans to become fully engaged in the practice of democracy. Twenty black community leaders and activists belonging to the ANC and other representative organizations have recently graduated from a seminar in voter education in Israel, and we hope this will be only a beginning. We shall continue with this crucial task, both bilaterally and in conjunction with the United Nations and the international community. When the time comes, we expect to participate in the dispatch of experts and observers as may be required to assist in the South African electoral process.

Yet experience has taught us that social justice and participatory democracy are not achieved through the ballot alone. No political system can truly liberate unless it aspires to become economically viable, raise living standards, adequately house, feed, clothe, educate, provide employment, and respond to the needs of those who expect to become active and equal members of the new nation. To ensure the success of this singular endeavour, more than electoral assistance must be offered: we must help South Africa lay the solid economic foundations which will provide tangible benefits for all its citizens.

Over the years, Israel has been contributing its special part by sharing its unique experience and technical know-how with the underprivileged communities of South Africa. We have done this through a variety of educational and training programmes, fellowships and professional courses offered through official channels such as the Division for International Cooperation and other public institutions and organizations. Close to 600 black South African leaders, workers and students have been trained in the areas of science and technology, health, social work, community development and agriculture. Our effort in this respect will continue.

Meeting with ANC President Nelson Mandela in New York earlier this session, Israeli Foreign Minister Peres manifested Israel's interest in promoting greater economic relations with the new South Africa. We are prepared to pursue vigorously all possible avenues of cooperation through the appropriate channels. Though we may also be engaged in cooperative efforts elsewhere, we shall not turn a blind eye to the challenges posed by a new South Africa as it emerges into the light of a new era.

In a triumph of common sense and moderation, the adoption of the consensus resolutions on apartheid will signal the evolution of our United Nations away from confrontation towards cooperation. This positive trend is similarly reflected in this year's report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/48/22). This progress mirrors Israel's renewed and reinvigorated relations with many old and new friends throughout Africa. Indeed, this new friendship is the fitting conclusion to the demise of the mendacious imputation of racism and the obnoxious campaign of slander propagated against zionism and Israel not too long ago. We look forward to the day, surely not far off, when together with our newly found friends in Africa we can join hands across the continent to build a human bridge of cooperation, solidarity and democracy.

Mr. SIDOROV (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian)*: Since the end of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, some major events in South Africa have accelerated the positive dynamics of an extremely complex political process in that country that should lead to the peaceful elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

A turning-point in this process occurred in the multilateral negotiations which were resumed in April of this year with the participation of a broad spectrum of political parties and movements. More than half a year of intensive work in that forum has been crowned by a number of agreements that have broken a lengthy deadlock in the process of a domestic political settlement. As a result, the parties have managed to establish a date for the holding of the first universal democratic elections in the history of South Africa - that is, 27 April 1994 - and have achieved agreement with regard to an interim constitution and a draft electoral law which, along with the laws approved by the Parliament of South Africa on transitional structures for power, will become a solid basis for preparing for and holding elections and for a State political system in South Africa for the five-year transitional period.

The logical development of these agreements has been the official declaration recently in Pretoria of the beginning of the activities of the Transitional Executive Council, which is responsible in particular for monitoring free and just elections to the constituent assembly.

We think that we have every ground to believe that this event represents a true breakthrough in the deepening of democratic reforms in South Africa, as well as the triumph of universal human values and common sense over the anti-human system of apartheid. This success was the result of many years of selfless struggle on the part of the democratic forces of South Africa, headed by the African National Congress (ANC), a struggle that in recent years has been supplemented by the efforts of the reform wing of the leadership of South Africa. In this connection, we should like to pay due tribute to the personal courage, political determination and realism of the two Nobel Peace Prize recipients this year, the President of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, and the President of South Africa, F. W. de Klerk, who for the sake of the present and future of their country have shown the determination and true statesmanship necessary to overcome the racial and other prejudices that had burdened South Africa for so long.

The positive change in South Africa, demonstrated by the irreversibility of the process of democratization in that country, will undoubtedly be promoted by the energetic efforts of the United Nations as well. The international community as a whole has pursued a consistent policy of eliminating apartheid by peaceful means as soon as possible, and its response to the ever stronger process which is dismantling that shameful system is reflected in the consensus resolutions adopted on this item by the General Assembly. As is well known, at the beginning of October this year, in response to an appeal made by Nelson Mandela in this Hall on 24 September, the General Assembly adopted resolution 48/1, pursuant to which all earlier provisions banning or limiting economic relations with South Africa were abrogated.

In connection with the beginning of the activities of the Transitional Executive Council, the mandate of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa is to be terminated, under draft resolution A/48/L.31/Rev.1. This constructive policy of the United Nations is an acknowledgment of the new political realities which have emerged in that country and its steady progress towards the establishment of a non-racial, democratic society. The expansion of South Africa's economic, cultural and other relations with the outside world should, we believe, promote stabilization of the situation in the country and strengthen the positive steps taken in relations with countries in the South African region, which have improved in recent times.

However, a great deal still remains to be done. There is great concern in our country and throughout the world, over the continued acts of violence in South Africa, which have led to loss of life and are designed essentially to undermine the process of eliminating apartheid by peaceful means. In this connection, we support the appeal in draft resolution A/48/L.29 to the South African authorities to take steps to end the violence and protect the lives, security and property of all South Africans. The main thing, as we see it now, is to strengthen the constructive interaction between the authorities in South Africa, the opposition parties and the transitional bodies for the full dismantling of apartheid and a smooth, non-confrontational transition towards a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa.

Of key significance for maintaining the positive dynamic in the development of the situation in South Africa is strengthening the stability of public life and sternly opposing any attempt to use violence as a means to achieve political ends. In this extremely complex and fateful period in South Africa's history, a constructive dialogue and the ability of the parties to achieve compromise is more important than ever. Relying on confrontation can only worsen the sufferings of the peoples of South Africa, leading to new loss of human life and giving rise to chaos and a dangerous power vacuum which

no doubt would be used by the opponents of democratic reforms in that country.

For this reason, it is extremely important that all parties in South Africa, including those that have not fully taken part in the multi-party negotiations, observe the agreements achieved during them, reassert their dedication to democratic principles, take part in the forthcoming elections and demonstrate their will to conclude negotiations and overcome their differences.

For its part, the international community should not slacken its efforts to lend effective assistance and encouragement to the process of far-reaching reforms in South Africa. A positive role in stabilizing the political situation in that country is to be played by United Nations observers, as well as observers from regional organizations such as the European Union, the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth. The Russian Federation staunchly advocates the earliest possible final dismantling of apartheid. It opposes any form of racial discrimination and supports the full-fledged guarantee of human rights and South Africa's peaceful transition to democracy. In order to achieve these noble goals, our country is prepared to cooperate actively with constructive forces in South Africa and with all States and organizations.

Mr. REMIREZ DE ESTENOZ (Cuba) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The debate this year on agenda item 38 "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa", is different in character from the debates of previous years, as a result of the new reality on the ground which that country is experiencing.

The nature of the process that has now begun in South Africa gives reason for optimism.

The agreement reached on 18 November this year between the leaders of the parties participating in the Multi-party Negotiating Process on a provisional constitution for the transitional period in South Africa, the creation on 7 December of the Transitional Executive Council, the adoption of the electoral law and the establishment of Independent Electoral and Media Commissions are all steps which should bring us still closer to the objective of attaining a more just society in that country.

These are indeed important victories in the struggle waged by the South African people to free itself from the bonds of racism and oppression. They are also important victories for the majority of the members of the international community, since the growing pressure exerted on the apartheid regime also contributed greatly to the change we are welcoming today.

We hope that the process will continue at its current pace and will lead, as planned, to free and fair elections on 27 April next, on the principle of "one man, one vote," in which all South Africans can participate on an equal footing without distinction or discrimination based on race, gender or any other cause.

Nevertheless, despite the encouraging trends we have noted, until the process has been proved to be irreversible the situation in South Africa will continue to be volatile and filled with uncertainty.

The recent upsurge of violence, which has claimed thousands of victims over the past year, is a symptom of the dangers inherent in the South African process. The existence of forces that are not participating in the negotiations or that have shown open hostility towards them is another aspect of the situation that could cause growing difficulties.

The violence we observe in South Africa today could not only be prejudicial to the elections scheduled for April 1994, but could also be extremely damaging to the new State that will emerge from that process. The success of the elections requires stability and tranquillity, as will the new Government that the South African people will freely elect, in order to confront the enormous challenges involved in the process of reconstructing the country and reconciling South African society.

It is the responsibility of the South African authorities to put an end to the violence, to guarantee the security of all South Africans without distinction and to work tirelessly so that the guilty parties are duly brought to justice.

But it is also vital that the United Nations and the organs we have created over the years to support the South African people in its just demands remain vigilant today against any attempts to obstruct the path South Africa has freely chosen, so that the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa can be fully implemented. It is also essential that the measures proposed by the Secretary-General in his report to the General Assembly be fully carried out and that the relevant organs of the United Nations grant the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) the capacity to fulfil the functions that have been assigned it.

Important as was the role of the international community in the process of the elimination of apartheid, important as were the various sanctions imposed on the

apartheid regime - most of which have now been eliminated since the historic statement by President Nelson Mandela before the Special Committee against Apartheid on 24 September and the adoption of General Assembly resolution 48/1 - no less important will be the measures that we adopt to assist in the national reconstruction of the new South Africa.

Racial inequality, social injustice, discrimination in everyday life - in short, the effects of the policy of apartheid - created over the years a critical situation in the economic and social spheres for the overwhelming majority in South Africa, a situation which must now be corrected. We hope that international cooperation with South Africa to reverse that situation will be forthcoming as soon as the Government of national unity enters into force next year.

I do not want to conclude without paying a well-deserved tribute, on behalf of my delegation, to the Special Committee against Apartheid and to the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, and especially to their respective Chairmen, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria and Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi of Tanzania. Both bodies have played an important role in the activities of this Organization to promote the eradication of apartheid.

A very special tribute also goes to the President of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, for his decisive and valiant role in fulfilling the objective of creating a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The fact that, together with President De Klerk, another important protagonist in this undertaking, he has recently received the Nobel Peace Prize is further proof of the recognition of the international community.

Cuba, which has always given its support to the heroic people of South Africa, is gratified at the change that is taking place in South Africa. We hope that the process we are witnessing today will prove to be irreversible and that it will become a guarantee of economic and social development and of justice and equity for all of the South African people.

Mr. REY CORDOBA (Colombia) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: To study the history of South Africa is to travel the world in just one country. With its ethnic, cultural, geographical and economic features South Africa is a region with unique characteristics. None the less, with this enormous potential, which could have made of it a model of tolerance and good-neighbourliness, it became in reality one of unfairness and inequality for millions of human beings, who were obliged to suffer segregation and racial discrimination for centuries.

Every nation has times that are landmarks in its history. For South Africa, 1948 and 1994 will be years to remember - the former because of the institutionalization of the regime of apartheid, with the baneful conditions that it created for the South African majority. When the National Party took power with that platform, it ensured democracy and prosperity for the white minority and segregation and marginality for the black, Asian and mestizo populations.

The legal, political, social and economic pillars of apartheid were the underpinning of every aspect of daily life in South Africa. The laws of apartheid told citizens whom to marry, what streets to take, what beaches to visit, what educational and health systems to enjoy - in fact, who to be, in a society divided by the colour of one's skin.

Contrary to 1948, 1994 marks the beginning of a hope of democracy for the entire South African nation, with the formal dismantling of the structures of apartheid. It represents the synthesis of a history and the laying of the foundations for a just future in which all races can develop, contribute to and benefit from the economic potential of South Africa. Thus the agreements and the negotiations are the initial, but not the final, steps in overcoming the obstacles and the challenges of national reconstruction.

The low profitability of apartheid and the breakdown of a system which produced enormous profits for a minority at the end of the decade of the 1980s brought about the process of gradual and controlled reform, which was begun by the National Party with President Botha. President Frederik de Klerk consolidated this process and remained faithful to the prospects of change, as the world saw with the release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February 1990, after 27 years of imprisonment for having protested against apartheid.

Mr. Mandela and President De Klerk have both shown their commitment and their spirit of conciliation in keeping alive the process of change and renewal in South Africa, for which they were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize on 10 December.

The firm will maintained by the two leaders has been necessary in a political climate characterized by the violence caused by the reluctance of certain groups to break with the past, to abandon privileges of race or renounce the power acquired through collaboration with the apartheid regime.

Political violence and extremism are disturbing phenomena which jeopardize efforts to create a multiracial, united and pluralist South Africa. The fear of losing

privileges and power has encouraged extreme positions, which have kept some groups out of the current process of change. Just as the main protagonists have managed to remain in the negotiations in spite of innumerable obstacles, Colombia hopes that the groups that have not joined the process will participate constructively in the emergence of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The Transitional Executive Council and the democratic elections without racial distinctions for the establishment of a constituent assembly, to be held on 27 April, reflect the centuries-old objective of direct political participation by the South African majority. They also mean the hope of peace and progress for the entire nation, without distinction of race. In this context, the persistence of racial policies adopted by certain groups constitutes a serious threat to the efforts that have been made to lay the foundations for national reconciliation.

The road ahead is complex and arduous. If its objectives and goals are to be met, it will be necessary to find lasting solutions to socio-economic problems - solutions that lay the bases for stability, progress and well-being for the entire South African nation.

Political violence, extremism, marginality and the economic crisis are consequences of apartheid which it will take a long time for the new South Africa to resolve. In this connection, the international community must participate actively and constructively in the search for solutions to the problems of South Africa.

The international community now faces the great responsibility of helping to create well-being and to restore the economic, political and social rights of the South African people. This is no time for reduced efforts. Quite the contrary; there is a need for international solidarity in support of national policies aimed at correcting the odious conditions which apartheid inflicted on 80 per cent of the population.

In spite of the important advances made by political leaders, the great challenge belongs to the South African nation. The political leaders can only create the framework for reconciliation. It is the South African nation which must see itself as a multiracial nation without privileges of race - united and democratic.

Understanding the depth of the required change of mentality will help to ease resentment, but it is none the less necessary to recall the origins, dynamics and legacy of the apartheid regime so that that history will never be repeated.

Colombia has been supportive of the struggle of the South African people and has complied with the United Nations resolutions that have condemned and isolated South Africa. Today, we are delighted at the changes and the progress made towards reconciliation, and we understand the magnitude of the obstacles to be overcome by the South African nation before it can become a true democracy.

In line with the requests made by Nelson Mandela on 24 September, Colombia has joined the international community in restoring diplomatic ties, through the Transitional Executive Council, for the transition period and by normalizing its relations with South Africa. Colombia hopes that the spirit of reconciliation will continue to guide the main protagonists of the negotiating process and that it will motivate those who have not yet joined the process to do so, that they might participate in the birth of a new South Africa.

AGENDA ITEM 8 *(continued)*

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION OF WORK: REQUEST FOR THE REOPENING OF THE CONSIDERATION OF AGENDA ITEM 47 SUBMITTED BY AUSTRALIA (A/48/749)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to document A/48/749, which contains a letter dated 9 December 1993 addressed to the President of the General Assembly by the Permanent Representative of Australia, in his capacity as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Fiftieth Anniversary.

In his letter, the Permanent Representative of Australia states that it has been brought to his attention that there is a need for the General Assembly to provide formal authorization for the arrangements made by the Secretary-General to provide Secretariat staff for the work of preparing for the fiftieth anniversary.

For this purpose, a draft resolution has been drawn up and will be circulated for consultation and then submitted to the General Assembly for decision. The draft resolution has the support of members of the Bureau of the Preparatory Committee.

The Permanent Representative of Australia further states that there is a proposal initiated by the Permanent Representative of Kazakhstan and currently under consultation with a wide range of Member States to the effect that the General Assembly should decide at its current session that there should be convened early in 1995 a short special session of the General Assembly within the

ambit of the forty-ninth session. That session would take place as part of the preparations for the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations and it would consider ways and means of strengthening the work of the United Nations in preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building. The draft resolution enabling such a decision is under informal consideration among Permanent Representatives.

The Permanent Representative of Australia requests that, in order to enable the General Assembly to consider the two matters mentioned in his letter, the consideration of agenda item 47, entitled "Commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations in 1995", be reopened.

Under the circumstances, may I take it that the General Assembly has no objection to reopening consideration of agenda item 47?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members that agenda item 47 will be considered at a later date to be announced in the *Journal*.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.

ANNEX

Changes in recorded and/or roll-call votes

Resolution 48/58

Subsequent to the voting, the delegations of Afghanistan, Belize, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cape Verde and Georgia advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

Resolution 48/59 A

Subsequent to the voting, the delegations of Afghanistan, Belize and Cape Verde advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

Resolution 48/59 B

Subsequent to the voting, the delegation of Afghanistan advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

80th PLENARY MEETING
Wednesday, 15 December 1993 at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY (Guyana)

In the absence of the President, Mr. Nyakyi (United Republic of Tanzania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 38 (*continued*) and 39 (*continued*)

ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/48/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/48/43)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/467 and Add.1, A/48/523, A/48/691)

(d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL AND DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE (FOURTH COMMITTEE) (A/48/657)

(e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/48/L.29, A/48/L.30, A/48/L.31/Rev.1, A/48/L.36)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/524)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.37)

Mr. ACHARYA (Nepal): It is a special privilege for all of us now to speak on agenda item 38, "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of united, democratic and non-racial South Africa". It is heartening to see that the political situation in South Africa has at long last emerged into an environment of hope and aspirations which is conducive to bringing an end to the apartheid regime and white minority rule. However, it was not an easy road. Tremendous sacrifices were made by the people of South Africa and the international community as a whole in their struggle against the political and social evil of apartheid.

The present ongoing process of the elimination of apartheid is a welcome development. With the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and the commencement of its meetings and work, we hope that this process now has become irreversible. The adoption of an interim constitution paves the way for ensuring free and fair elections under the Independent Electoral Commission. The establishment of Independent Broadcasting and Media Commissions will, we hope, give impetus to the education of voters and their greater participation in the electoral process. It is expected that these Commissions will also help to disseminate a strong and impartial political message to the people.

This record is subject to correction.
Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum.

When the result of a recorded and/or roll-call vote is followed by an asterisk, see the annex to the record.

93-87394 (E)

Distr. GENERAL

A/48/PV.80
7 January 1994

ENGLISH

We pay a sincere tribute to the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, and his countrymen for their remarkable success so far in their endeavours to dismantle apartheid. President De Klerk also deserves our special appreciation for his understanding of the problem and for his role in bringing about the process of transition to a non-racial society. The Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Mr. Mandela and Mr. De Klerk truly testifies to their outstanding leadership in bringing the peace process forward in South Africa.

While we pay homage to those South Africans who lost their lives for the cause of creating a new society based on equal opportunities for all, irrespective of their race, colour, sex and language, we would also like to express our great concern about the violence in South Africa which continues even though the process of transition is taking place. We urge all political leaders and their followers in South Africa to stop the violence and to join the mainstream in order to build a united, non-racial, democratic and prosperous South Africa.

The international community, especially the United Nations, has played a positive and active role in the abolition of apartheid in South Africa. Since its establishment, the Organization has been in the forefront of the struggle against the crime of racial discrimination around the globe. More than four decades ago, the issue of apartheid was brought to the attention of the international community through the United Nations. The Organization has always taken a firm and principled stand in support of the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle to gain equal opportunities for all, in accordance with the noble objectives of its Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Here, it is worthwhile to recall the adoption by consensus by the General Assembly in December 1989 of the landmark Declaration on South Africa which provided a broad framework for a just, peaceful and lasting settlement of the problem of apartheid. The Security Council and the General Assembly have taken very important decisions to further the cause of peaceful settlement of the South African problem.

Recently, the call by Mr. Mandela from this very rostrum of the General Assembly to the international community to end economic sanctions against South Africa brought a good response from the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Union and many Governments. We are happy to note that many international and regional organizations, as well as Governments, have now started to resume their economic as well as diplomatic presence in South Africa. We hope that this process will further expand after the recent establishment of the Transitional Executive Council.

We are conscious that the new Government of national unity which will be formed after the April 1994 elections has an enormous task before it in economic reconstruction and the creation of a society based on equal opportunities for all. The most important task will be to maintain law and order and to bring about racial harmony in the country. Economic reconstruction and development can be pursued only in an environment of political stability and peace in the country. We firmly believe that the South African leaders will be successful in maintaining peace and in the optimal mobilization of both human and natural resources to develop a prosperous South Africa. In this connection, I would like to point out that there is now a very important role for the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA), the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union in furthering the cause of maintaining peace and reconciliation in South Africa, especially before and during the elections.

To conclude, we urge all to work on the recommendations of the mission of the Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid to South Africa, from 1 to 11 March, which assessed the situation on the basis of meetings with various political parties. We hope that the implementation of these recommendations will help in the process of a smooth transition in South Africa. The Committee will continue to work until a united, non-racial and democratic Government is established in South Africa. At the same time, we appeal to all South Africans to rise above their differences in this crucial period of transition and work to forge a common future.

Let us hope for the beginning of a new era in South Africa.

Mr. KOLANE (Lesotho): If the end of the cold war is seen as a result of fundamental global changes, new thinking and innovation are necessary to meet the challenges and opportunities ahead. Unfortunately, there are those in South Africa who believe that to meet the challenges means turning back the hands of time, and that the only innovation and opportunity open to them is to sabotage the process of abolishing apartheid and adopt a repressive system that would represent a setback in terms of all the progress that has been made towards dismantling the system of apartheid.

As has been stated over the years, the situation in South Africa has always been a cause for concern in the Kingdom of Lesotho, as South Africa is our only immediate neighbour. The Kingdom of Lesotho, not only

in the forefront but in the very midst of this situation, continues to call for the elimination of apartheid and institutionalized racial discrimination and the election of a truly just and democratic South African Government. Despite our concern over the ever-rising levels of violence and the increasing resolve of right-wing elements to carry out sabotage, we are encouraged by the achievements that continue to be made through negotiations in that country. In particular we applaud the recent endorsement of a new Constitution and the inauguration a few days ago of the multiracial Transitional Executive Council, which effectively and symbolically ended white minority rule in South Africa. This positive progress is a source of optimism and hope to those of us who come from southern Africa. We trust that the other parties will rededicate themselves to the virtues of restraint and tolerance and embrace the enduring, historical lessons of right over might and of the inescapable imperative of racial harmony for the survival of the nation-State. It is our fervent hope that the lessons of the Kingdom of Lesotho's peaceful transition to democracy early this year will not be lost on the citizens of South Africa, whose own chance to elect a Government of their choice, for the first time after nearly three centuries of white monopoly rule, seems within reach.

We continue, however, to be extremely concerned about the unfortunate loss of life resulting from the ongoing political violence. The never-subsiding - indeed, escalating - violence we witness daily across our border is fast becoming a cultural phenomenon. The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, the Right Honourable Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, in his maiden address to the Commonwealth Summit in Cyprus, epitomized Lesotho's concerns when he said:

> "The hopeful signs of multi-democracy in South Africa raise on the one side of the coin a real spectre of strife, as the privileged minority refuses to let go of the monopoly of political power. Before the dust settles, it seems highly likely that thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of refugees will flee across into neighbouring States. Lesotho stands to bear the brunt of such a mass exodus, as she has done in the past, and as it discusses South Africa the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting may wish to consider appropriate contingency measures to address this possibility, lest it be a pyrrhic victory. Emancipation of South Africa's oppressed masses should not undermine the security and political stability of neighbouring States. The Commonwealth, which has done so much in the past to help dismantle the system of apartheid, should continue to be vigilant and not lose sight of the real dangers that continue to lurk in the shadows of the approaching dawn."

That quotation puts in a nutshell the concerns of all the countries in the subregion that have at one time or another hosted refugees fleeing from apartheid. Likewise, the United Nations, which has for long been in the vanguard of the fight against apartheid, should play a catalytic role in the transition to democratic rule. It has been the clarion call of both the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity that the parties concerned in South Africa should, in a necessary climate of cooperation, negotiate the future of their country in good faith and in an atmosphere free of violence. The international community welcomed the announcement of 27 April 1994 as the day of reckoning, when South Africans of all walks of life will be going to the polls to elect a truly non-racial and democratic Government.

It is imperative, therefore, that the international community continue to support the process under way all the way, as warranted by ongoing developments. The international community should also bear in mind that people continue to die as a result of the brutal violence perpetrated by forces opposed to the transition to democratic rule. This unjust economic and political system produces armed violence. But the current level of violence, with its violation of political and civil rights and the frequent suspension of legal guarantees, is of the worst kind.

The situation in South Africa is a ticking bomb liable to explode at any moment with catastrophic results, threatening to engulf the subregion once more in dark clouds of uncertainty. Our subregion has for long toiled under the heavy burden of apartheid, which is characterized as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. The system of apartheid sought to dehumanize entire peoples and imposed on the region of southern Africa a brutal war which has resulted in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent people. The wounds inflicted by apartheid will take much longer to heal, and our region wishes, therefore, to close that bitter chapter once and for all by supporting continuation of the process of transition and the consolidation of a new non-racial and democratic South Africa.

We do not wish to play the devil's advocate or to sound like prophets of doom, but the prospects for a peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa while the violence continues at its present level are very bleak, to say the least. The Chairman of the African National Congress himself told the Assembly two days ago that

> "The time has not yet come when we can sound the victory salute over the system of apartheid. The day has not yet dawned when we can all proclaim that

all the people of South Africa have begun to govern their country". *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 76th meeting, p. 24.)*

The current situation provides the extremist forces with fertile ground and opportunities for recruiting mercenaries to perform various unlawful activities aimed at promoting racial and inter-ethnic violence in order to transform the agreement into polarized confrontation. The report by the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on the question of the use of mercenaries - contained in document A/48/385, dated 23 September 1993 - underscores the fact that Africa is still the continent with the largest mercenary presence, with South Africa still playing a pivotal role. The report goes on to say that even though the intense activities of foreign mercenaries have been curtailed in parts of southern Africa, most notably with the advent of a peace process in Mozambique, mercenaries have not been expelled from the area and their activities have not been severely punished. The current situation in Angola is a vivid reminder and a case in point. The report states that

> "This makes it easier for [the mercenaries] to redeploy to neighbouring countries, mainly to South Africa, a country which, at the height of apartheid, was considered a haven for mercenaries. Foreign mercenaries are still in South Africa. Some were allegedly recruited by pro-apartheid organizations ..." *(A/48/385, para. 79)*.

We therefore humbly appeal to the international community and the peace-loving peoples of the world to do what is necessary to curb the escalating violence, and to be ever vigilant against the use or threat of use of mercenaries to derail the democratic process in that troubled land. The United Nations is called upon to address the complexities of the prevailing violence in South Africa, not as an exercise in piety but in sober and enlightened recognition of the necessity for such action.

We urge the United Nations to upgrade the United Nations monitoring team in South Africa as a matter of urgency, in accordance with the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace", which places considerable importance on preventive diplomacy, peace-building and peacemaking. We appreciate the fact that, despite significant cuts, extrabudgetary funds totalling $24.9 million are proposed for the Department of Political Affairs under sections 3 (b) and (c) of the report, which include preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping. We also welcome the strengthening of and support extended to the Departments of Peace-keeping Operations and Political Affairs, which are identified as priority areas in the medium-term plan. We hope that, as areas in which budgetary funds can be reallocated are identified, due regard will be given to the volatile situation in South Africa.

We also support the recommendation of the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid that the nature of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa could perhaps be modified to make it a United Nations transition mission in South Africa, with a mandate to, *inter alia*, promote and assist the Multi-party Negotiating Process and the national peace accord structures, and to investigate violence and monitor the election process and the conduct of the election campaign.

We are equally gratified that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is addressing the question of violence in South Africa. We support the establishment within the OAU of a mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution, which was recently inaugurated in Addis Ababa, and we hope that the mechanism will soon be operational to support the current OAU effort in South Africa. We also commend the Commonwealth for dispatching a Commonwealth observer mission to South Africa and appreciate the fact that the mission's mandate has been extended to allow it to remain in South Africa until after the elections.

The situation in South Africa is a complex one which needs to be urgently addressed before it degenerates into intense and generalized conflict. We still remember very clearly President Mandela's appeal during his address before this Organization, when he said that the distance we have to travel is not long and we should travel it together.

History has repeatedly shown that the road to freedom and democracy is never smooth. However, the international community would not want to travel a road that is deliberately and wantonly strewn with dead bodies by the forces of oppression. The end would not justify the means in that particular instance. We appeal once more to the political leaders of South Africa to find a common ground and put an end to the senseless violence that threatens to derail the march to a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. We appeal to the entire international community to empathize with the people of South Africa and not forsake them in their hour of most urgent need.

Mr. HAHM (Republic of Korea): The world has been greatly encouraged by a series of significant steps towards a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. We have all witnessed the successful completion of the Multi-party Negotiating Process and the conclusion of an agreement on an interim constitution and an electoral bill. Another key

element in the democratic process is the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, which became operational on 8 December. And one of the most important factors for the true democratization of South Africa is the upcoming election based on universal suffrage, which will be held in April 1994.

In my delegation's view, these are historic political developments towards the establishment of a truly non-racial and democratic South Africa. The international community played an important supporting role during South Africa's long journey to its current stage of democratic progress. I would like to recall that the Republic of Korea has actively participated in the international efforts to help build a united, non-racial, and democratic South Africa. The Government of the Republic of Korea made financial contributions to the Africa Fund and several United Nations programmes, including the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for South Africa, and the United Nations Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid.

The Government of the Republic of Korea has also adjusted its policies on South Africa, including the phased lifting of sanctions, in accordance with the progress made toward a united, non-racial and democratic system.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of South Africa on 1 December 1992, my Government has been reinforcing contacts with the political parties and organizations which represent the majority in South Africa.

Further assistance by the international community is required, particularly during the time leading up to the elections. My Government believes that the lingering disagreement among some political parties should be resolved so that it will not jeopardize the formation of a new government.

Socio-economic imbalances, deeply imbedded in South Africa by decades of apartheid, also continue to plague the majority of the population and could threaten to undermine peaceful and stable development during the transition period and beyond. In this context, the Government of the Republic of Korea will join the international efforts to help address these socio-economic inequities.

In conclusion, my Government wishes to reiterate its firm support for the efforts of the people of South Africa to establish a united, non-racial and democratic country through free and fair elections for all citizens, regardless of race, colour, gender or belief.

Mr. Elaraby (Egypt), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. BATIOUK (Ukraine): The period since last year's debate has been one of great dynamism in the political life of South Africa, a period of intensive bilateral and multilateral negotiations, during which transitional arrangements took shape. The creation of a new negotiating framework, the setting of a date for South Africa's first non-racial, democratic elections, the lifting of economic sanctions and the establishment, at last, of the Transitional Executive Council were remarkable developments, which determined the irreversibility of the process of political settlement in South Africa. Progress was made despite persistent violence, the irreconcilable positions of some political parties and the tense socio-economic situation.

The determination and commitment of the Government of South Africa, the African National Congress and other major parties to achieve a peaceful political settlement, as well as the support of the international community, were decisive factors in moving the process forward.

In a world full of conflicts and crises, the positive changes emerging in South Africa are indeed a source of hope. The United Nations and the international community as a whole can take pride in their contributions to encouraging and supporting the positive changes in South Africa.

The future of South Africa now depends on the outcome of the elections. If free and fair elections are to succeed, political parties must be able to campaign throughout the country, and all voters must have the right to participate in the electoral process without any hindrance or harassment.

It is necessary to emphasize that special attention should be paid to the question of voters' education. This is a factor of great importance, as the majority of the population of South Africa will be taking part in such elections for the first time. Furthermore, nearly 8 million of the country's 24 million black people are functionally illiterate.

The role of the security forces is another matter of critical importance. The mistrust between the police and various segments of the population should be overcome as soon as possible. Integrated security forces can and should play an important and positive role in this regard.

The international community remains deeply concerned at the continuing violence, which has claimed the lives of thousands of South Africans and threatens the very process of political settlement. Recent developments suggest that when political parties begin active campaigning for elections an upsurge in political violence is possible. This phenomenon poses a considerable problem for the conduct of free and fair elections.

As the National Peace Accord and its structures are instruments that remain vital to the maintenance of peace in South Africa, they should be strengthened and revitalized through the cooperation of all parties concerned, including the Government, civil organizations and the South African police. We believe that only through collective determination to respond to and effectively curb all forms of violence will law and order in that society be established.

The violence in South Africa has both political and socio-economic dimensions. It is obvious that the root cause of violence has its origins in the dying system of apartheid. But the problem is compounded by easy access to firearms, by political intolerance, by the failure of the criminal justice system to act effectively and by mistrust of the South African police. Growing criminality and glaring socio-economic inequalities also continue to contribute to political violence, especially among the youth. Angered and frustrated young black South Africans, 90 per cent of whom are unemployed, constitute fertile ground for political confrontation.

The delegation of Ukraine is convinced that unless the violence is bridled it may seriously damage any current or future agreement whose purpose is the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Another crucial task facing the leadership of that country derives from the necessity to alleviate the large-scale poverty, to deal with the huge inequalities between blacks and whites and to improve the standards of living of the majority of people in South Africa. The legacy of apartheid will continue to plague South African society if decisive measures aimed at redressing the inequalities are neglected. Moreover, if the basic socio-economic needs of the people are not met immediately, the durability of a political settlement cannot be assured, and the prospect of a peaceful transition is likely to be threatened.

As we see the situation, the main issues before South Africans today are interconnected, and their settlement requires an integrated approach. Without peace, it will be impossible to introduce democracy and to solve the socio-economic problems. Without tangible results in the socio-economic sphere, there will be no end to violence - no peace.

The delegation of Ukraine believes that, as well as encouraging the process of peaceful political settlement in South Africa, the international community must focus its attention on the socio-economic dimensions of South Africa's transition. It is essential, in our opinion, that investment and international assistance be aimed at the elimination of the glaring imbalances caused by apartheid.

In this connection, we should like to stress the contributions of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, under the able leadership of Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria, and of the Centre against Apartheid in transforming United Nations activities in this area into concrete steps designed to facilitate fundamental reform in South Africa. The delegation of Ukraine is convinced that the current deliberations on this question and the adoption of the draft resolutions submitted under this agenda item will contribute to this process.

I should like, in conclusion, to express our sincere hope that, very soon, irreversible changes in South Africa, complemented by concerted and dedicated efforts on the part of the international community, will result in our welcoming a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa into our midst.

Mr. SHAMBOS (Cyprus): Once again the General Assembly is considering - as it has done for almost four decades - the all-important question of apartheid in South Africa. The discussion this year, however, is taking place against the background of positive developments sweeping through South Africa, foreshadowing the irreversible eradication of the discredited system of apartheid. The process of dialogue that is overtaking affairs on the world scene could not fail to make an impact on this seemingly intractable problem.

Since the resumption of negotiations in April 1993, the Multi-party Negotiating Process under way in South Africa has achieved remarkable progress in charting the constitutional future of South Africa, including the setting of 27 April 1994 as the date for the country's first universal elections. The fact that 26 political parties and groups from South Africa's political spectrum are participating renders the progress made even more significant.

The principles adopted by the Multi-Party Forum constitute an assurance that South Africa's future constitution will secure a government of the highest level of international democratic standards. One of the most substantive components of the new constitution is the

safeguarding of fundamental rights for all South Africans, rights including freedom of speech and movement, and other liberties that in the past were reserved mainly for members of the ruling minority. Among the vestiges of apartheid abolished by these agreements are the 10 self-governing "homelands" invented by apartheid as reservations for members of the country's oppressed majority. These "homelands", in reality the offspring of segregation, are to disappear when the new constitution takes effect, immediately after the elections of 27 April 1994.

The delicate balance achieved between majority rule and safeguards for minorities is a commendable and wise solution, assuring the peaceful transition of South Africa to complete democracy.

All those who contributed to the successful outcome of this long and hard negotiating marathon deserve the praise of the international community. The 1993 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to the protagonists of this achievement of world-wide import, President De Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), for their work for the peaceful termination of the apartheid regime, and for laying the foundation for a new, democratic South Africa, is at the same time an honour to the anonymous crowd of heroes of the anti-apartheid struggle from both sides, which constitutes the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa. That well-timed award honours the process of racial peace and symbolizes the recognition by the international community of the common achievement, by all South Africans, through working united to establish expeditiously the peaceful, integrated and democratic society so much deserved by this tormented land, a land full of prospects.

The General Assembly, noting that the transition to democracy had been enshrined in the law of South Africa, acting swiftly, wisely and unanimously through resolution 48/1, adopted on 8 October 1993, welcomed these all-important developments by lifting trade, investment and travel sanctions, thus normalizing commercial and economic relations with South Africa. Through that historic resolution it was also decided that all resolutions adopted by the General Assembly relating to the imposition of an embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa should cease to have effect as of the date that the Transitional Executive Council became operational, and requested all States to take appropriate measures to lift any restrictions or prohibitions they had imposed to implement previous resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly in this respect.

The statement made by the President of the General Assembly on 9 December 1993, after the Transitional Executive Council had been established, put the final touches on the lifting of the sanctions with respect to petroleum and petroleum products, which had never been intended to punish the suffering South African people, but which were means used by the international community to put across its stern message that the anachronistic and abhorrent policy of apartheid must be put to rest. This strong practical form of international action, reinforced by morality, induced change and brought forth reforms that deserve the support of the entire international community.

It has been correctly said that apartheid was born in conquest, maintained by repression and exploitation and nurtured by the perverted philosophy of racial superiority. We believe, therefore, that bringing about its demise will not be an easy task and that much vigilance is required. We are concerned at the escalation of violence, as reported very recently in the press, and emphasize once again that the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order lies with the South African Government. The assassination in April this year of Chris Hani, a proponent of negotiations and a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, was both a call to alarm and a deplorable act of violence directed against those who strive for peace, democracy and justice in a united non-racial South Africa. It also underscored the need for measures to be taken to protect the right of all citizens to engage in peaceful, political activities without fear or intimidation.

The deployment of United Nations observers on the basis of Security Council resolution 772 (1992) of 17 August 1992, in line with the structures set up under the National Peace Accord, constitutes mankind's commitment and its response to violence. These United Nations observers should be extended full cooperation by all parties and organizations so as to enable them to carry out their mission completely and effectively. We commend the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union, whose observers, in parallel with those of the United Nations, have been deployed in South Africa to make their own contribution to the success of the peaceful transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democratic society.

We would like also to express our deep appreciation for the invaluable work done on the matter by the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the capable leadership of His Excellency Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria. We believe the mandate of that Committee should be extended until the democratically elected government of South Africa has been installed.

We commend the Secretary-General for the action taken to address areas of concern specified in his reports, especially regarding assistance to strengthen the structures set up under the National Peace Accord and to deploy United Nations observers in South Africa to further the purposes of that accord. Until the system of apartheid has been finally dismantled it is vital that the United Nations continue to play an active role in South Africa. The United Nations and the world community should continue to review the few remaining restrictive measures. At the same time, the Organization should launch without delay coordinated and detailed programmes for social and economic assistance to South Africa in order to contribute to the translation of emerging democratic opportunities into genuine reality for all South Africans.

As we all stand before the judgement of history, we are obliged to spare no effort in assisting the people of South Africa in achieving the noble goal of transforming their country into a full democracy. In that regard, we call upon all parties to refrain from acts of violence and not to allow violence to threaten the process of the peaceful transformation of South Africa into a democratic country. The South African authorities have to take every measure to promote and safeguard the right of all citizens to participate fully in the democratic process in all its dimensions.

At this juncture, we express the hope that the few parties keeping themselves outside the latest historic agreements will put the interest of South Africa and its people above all else, and will join the common effort for the creation of a new South Africa, where present and future generations will be able to work in a peaceful and democratic environment for the advancement of their well-being.

Having ourselves experienced for the last 20 years a form of forced segregation caused by foreign invasion and occupation, we remain very sensitive to violations of democratic principles. With the recent positive developments in South Africa paving the way for the total eradication of apartheid at its roots, we expect that the international community and this Organization will show their decisive support for a Cyprus solution free from any separatist manifestations.

In welcoming the developments in South Africa which should lead to the end of the odious practice of apartheid, we pray that never again will human beings on the face of this Earth be forced to live in conditions of racial, ethnic, religious or other separation from their fellow human beings. We believe that it is our duty to be vigilant until the system of racial separation, with all its connotations, has been brought to a complete and irreversible end in South Africa and everywhere else in the world. To this end, South Africa must receive the wholehearted support of the entire international community if we are to make progress towards the achievement of the lofty objectives embodied in the National Peace Accord.

Mr. BILOA TANG (Cameroon) *(interpretation from French)*: The elimination of apartheid and the creation of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa has, for too long, in our view, been a subject of concern for the entire international community.

At a time, therefore, when both here and in the Middle East, events have taken a dramatic and irreversible turn - one which has been for so long awaited, desired and encouraged - Cameroon cannot but join the chorus of renewed and unreserved support for this very fortunate acceleration of the process, both to welcome it and to take note of it.

In his statement in the general debate in the Assembly on 8 October last, the head of our delegation pointed out that despite the hurdles which, it can reasonably be foreseen, will still remain to be overcome, southern Africa and the Middle East have, almost simultaneously, undergone developments which have aroused great hope - a hope commensurate with what is at stake.

Indeed, quite apart from the realization that things can no longer be the same after the Begin-Arafat handshake; the Nobel Prize shared between Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk; and the coming into being of the Transitional Executive Council, which is the historic forerunner of the interim government of national unity, it is important, we believe, to emphasize that the advent of a unified, democratic and non-racial South Africa should also produce beneficial effects extending well beyond the national frontiers of that country. The crisis which holds Mozambique and Angola in thrall should thus, we believe, shortly fade away, since the destabilizing elements in Mozambique and Angola will no longer have the assurance of finding sanctuary in a South Africa that has rejected the ghetto of apartheid.

May I recall in this connection that within the framework and at the height of the struggle for decolonization and the abolition of apartheid, Cameroon had at that time enacted a number of measures banning all relations with Portugal, Rhodesia and racist South Africa, with the intention of affecting all goods and services going to or coming from South Africa, Rhodesia or Portugal. Cameroon also took an active part in drawing up the Lusaka manifesto on southern Africa, which was presented to the Assembly by the Head of State of Cameroon on behalf of the non-aligned countries 1969. Likewise, at the

extraordinary ministerial conference held in Dar-es-Salaam in 1976, we, together with other members of the Organization of African Unity, laid down and defined the conditions under which a dialogue could be established between independent Africa and South Africa.

At that time, the issue was, in response to the offers made by South Africa, to make it clear that then-racist South Africa would first have to hold a dialogue with the South African nationalists themselves within the country, which nationalists themselves should likewise first have to be released. At that time, these nationalists included Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Sobukwe.

When Portugal shed its African territories and when minority racist leader Ian Smith disappeared from the political scene, this subsequently prompted my Government to lift the embargoes and prohibitions which I referred to earlier. More recently, and in connection with South Africa itself, in view of the satisfactory developments which have noted and encouraged, sporting events were held with the encouragement and support of Nelson Mandela; the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa came to Cameroon; there was an exchange of ministerial visits, trade missions and so on. This trend will result, we believe, in the establishment very shortly of diplomatic relations between Pretoria and Yaounde.

Even if the road before us is still steep and full of pitfalls, the process under way has reached the point of no return. Therefore we must reiterate our support for what is being done by the South Africans themselves, with the support of the international community, to put an end to violence, to build confidence and to promote dialogue in order to eradicate apartheid and to create a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Let us therefore all work together for the dawning of a new era in a South Africa which has become reconciled with itself and which is ready to play its part in the community of nations, in Africa and in the world.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): The developments of recent months are the clearest possible sign that South Africa has arrived at a historic turning-point. After four decades of a regime based on the principle of apartheid, the citizens of that country will for the first time have the possibility of expressing themselves freely in an election on the future of their country without distinction of race or of colour.

The way we have followed to this point has been very long and difficult, full of violence and countless difficulties. It continues to be jeopardized by extremists on all sides working to undermine it, but now at last we see before us the tangible possibility of the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The President took the Chair.

Hungary, which is located in an ethnically diverse part of Europe, is committed to the establishment world-wide of political regimes that reject discrimination of all kinds. Hungary has always followed developments in southern Africa with great interest, as reflected in our having been the first country in our region to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa once it had begun its long journey towards a genuinely democratic society. In the same spirit, Hungary has stated its readiness to help organize the South African electoral process and to send observers in the framework of the international effort coordinated by the United Nations.

We commend the wisdom and courage of the South African leaders, who displayed exemplary political maturity, patience and perseverance in their efforts to reach the agreements that finally opened the way to the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and laid the legal foundations for the democratic elections to be held next April. We pay a special tribute to Mr. Nelson Mandela and to President De Klerk, most deserving recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize, a Prize symbolizing both their joint efforts and the vital need, if social peace is to come to a divided society, for united work and mutual tolerance by majority and minority political leaders alike. In the light of continuing tension and violent incidents, it seems to us even more important that all political forces, without exception, take an active part in the forthcoming elections.

The United Nations system has played a role of primary importance in the process of dismantling the system of apartheid in South Africa. We firmly believe that the international community must continue in the future to focus its attention on the situation in that country, in order to provide the assistance needed for it to overcome the inevitable obstacles and ensure, through the elections, a smooth transition to democracy. Beyond international political support, this will require multilateral economic assistance to resolve the economic and social problems besetting the population. Such an international and United Nations contribution could be a great help in creating the necessary conditions for achieving the goal of restoring South Africa to the community of nations. We hope that this will be the last session at which the General Assembly has before it the question of the elimination of apartheid.

In the light of what is now happening in South Africa, we cannot conceal our profound bitterness and frustration at the fact that, as we witness the dismantling of apartheid

in South Africa and the elimination there of a practice that runs counter to civilized norms, we are also witnessing in another part of the world the reintroduction of those same principles of apartheid: a new segregation of peoples that have always lived together, a forced, artificial separation of ethnic communities with an age-old history of coexistence. This is an anachronistic situation obvious to all, a manifestation of failure that will affect us all. Let us all think about it.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): On 21 August 1989 the Organization of African Unity's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa met in Harare, Zimbabwe, and issued a statement on the question of South Africa which came to be known as the Harare Declaration on South Africa. That historic Declaration was subsequently endorsed by the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries at their ninth Summit conference, held in Belgrade from 4 to 7 September 1989. On the basis of the Declaration, the General Assembly adopted by consensus the benchmark Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa; it did so four years ago almost to the day, on 14 December 1989.

In its Declaration the General Assembly gave the people of South Africa a political road map consisting of fundamental principles that could constitute a basis for an internationally acceptable solution to the South African question which would enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner in the world community of nations. A two-stage process was envisaged.

First, the Declaration called for the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations through the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees; the lifting of all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons; the removal of all troops from the townships; the ending of the state of emergency; the repeal of all legislation designed to circumscribe political activity; and the cessation of all political trials and political executions.

Secondly, in the context of the necessary climate, the parties concerned would undertake negotiations on the future of their country with a view to reaching agreement on a mechanism for drawing up a new constitution, on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring the successful transition to a democratic order, and on transitional arrangements and modalities for the process of drawing up and adopting a new constitution and for the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections.

It is no exaggeration to say that none of those assembled at that sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the question of apartheid and its destructive consequences in Southern Africa, fully realized that they were on the threshold of momentous change in South Africa. Indeed, many were pleasantly surprised that such a momentous Declaration on apartheid was adopted by consensus, admittedly after long and difficult negotiations and consultations. Little did they know that this clear and united stand by the international community, totally free of equivocation, would be one of the catalytic factors that would lead within 60 days to the unconditional release, on 11 February 1990, of President Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and other leading political prisoners and the lifting of all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations, a necessary event that launched the serious efforts to bring to an end through negotiations the policies and practices of apartheid.

We all know that the negotiation process has been difficult and complex. It has see-sawed between optimism and despair. However, through the sheer, dogged determination of the people of South Africa, who persistently and consistently refused to be diverted from their negotiation process, we now stand on the verge of a new era, not only for South Africa and the region but also for Africa and the world at large.

While it is true that the international community played an important role in the fight to eradicate apartheid, there was never any doubt that the primary responsibility for achieving a just, long-lasting settlement lay with the people of South Africa themselves. It is in that context that we should congratulate them on their determination and courage in continuing to negotiate in spite of widespread violent provocation, which could easily have derailed the entire negotiation process.

The resumption of multi-party negotiations in April 1993, 10 months after the suspension of negotiations under the second session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA II), has led to significant breakthroughs. The Multi-party Negotiating Process has now fixed 27 April 1994 as the date for the first non-racial democratic elections in South Africa. Agreement has also been reached on transitional arrangements, including the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission, the Independent Broadcasting Authority and the interim constitution. These principal provisions of the transitional arrangements have now been enacted into South African Law. The Transitional Executive Council became operational a week ago, on 7 December 1993.

While those positive developments have been welcomed by the international community, it is important that the international community, either through regional organizations such as the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Union, or through the United Nations, continue to give support and encouragement to the process currently under way in South Africa.

There is, of course, the question of violence. This clearly needs to be attended to, not only by the Government of South Africa, which bears the primary responsibility, and the political parties in the country, but also by the international community. Unless this scourge is eliminated, or at least brought under control, there is the real danger that the heat of the election campaign could be used as an excuse to escalate acts of violence and thereby threaten and undermine the chances of a free and fair election campaign and election process.

We are aware that there are parties and political formations in South Africa that participated in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process either only partially or not at all. Every effort should be made to encourage those parties to take their case to the people of South Africa by participating fully in the election campaign and in the April elections themselves. Indeed, where the way to the ballot box is free and open there can be no justification on anyone's part to resort to the use or threat of use of violence to achieve political objectives.

It is extremely important that after years of struggle in South Africa, after the loss of thousands of lives and the maiming of thousands more, the results of the first democratic elections not be contested. Conditions must be created that will satisfy both the winners and the losers that they have won or lost an election that was both free and fair. The best way to achieve this is not only through carefully crafted electoral procedures, which we hope the Independent Electoral Commission will attend to, but also through a coordinated and adequate presence of international monitors and observers. It is our view that any presence of the international community that does not allow for an international observer for each polling station would not be adequate. It is important to try to learn some relevant lessons from the past. In the 1980 elections in the then Rhodesia, which concluded the difficult birth process of the State of Zimbabwe, the sight of a single unarmed British bobby at every polling station, including the most remote, did a lot to inspire confidence among the general populace in the freeness and fairness of the electoral process.

It has been suggested that had there been more monitors and observers in the Angolan elections last year the course of events in that unhappy country would have been different. The point however is that in a situation where there is so much suspicion and mistrust, a substantial international presence could avoid unjustified and baseless allegations and counter-allegations. South Africa is a place where centuries of oppression and exploitation have created deep suspicions and mistrust. It is therefore our hope that the international community will respond positively and generously to the electoral needs of the people of South Africa. The consequence of a disputed election outcome in South Africa can be a serious and dangerous threat to the peace not only of that country and that region but also of the continent, as well as to international peace and security.

Apartheid was not only a political system; it was an economic and social system as well. In fact, it has been said that the discriminatory legal instruments that formed the underpinnings of South Africa's political system were only the scaffolding that the architects of apartheid needed to set in place an economic and social system that was grossly beneficial to the white minority at the expense of the black majority.

Therefore, the euphoria that surrounds the repeal of apartheid legislation should not lead us to overlook the fact that the economic, social and, to a large extent, political consequences of apartheid will continue to be felt well after the first non-racial democratic election scheduled for next year.

This means that the international community must commit itself to assisting the victims of apartheid well into the post-apartheid era. It is in this context that we welcome the current consultations between the United Nations and the Commonwealth with a view to organizing a donors' conference following the April elections which would mobilize international support for addressing the human-resource development needs of post-apartheid South Africa, particularly those of the disadvantaged sectors of society.

In conclusion, allow me to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, to the Special Committee and to the Centre against Apartheid for their tireless efforts to discharge their mandate. The report before us is full testimony of this. The international community should thank them and wish them well as they work towards the successful conclusion of a mandate that many had thought a "Mission Impossible". Our tribute is also owed to the Secretary- General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the resourceful and imaginative manner in which he has exerted his efforts on the question of South Africa. We should thank him and wish him well as

he prepares and puts together arrangements for the necessary and enhanced involvement of the international community in the run-up to the elections, in the voting process itself and in post-apartheid reconstruction and development.

Finally, our last tribute should - and, indeed, does - go to the courageous people of South Africa who, under the committed and dedicated leadership of their liberation movements, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress have, against all odds, brought apartheid to its knees and thereby restored their inalienable right to determine their own destiny. True, we cannot fail to recognize the catalytic role of the international community, but those who struggled and suffered and in some cases paid the supreme sacrifice must occupy the well-deserved place of honour.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: As representatives know, the General Assembly is now preparing to conclude its work for the year. In this connection, I should like to inform members of the programme of work for the week beginning 20 December and the date on which it is expected the Assembly will recess.

On Monday, 20 December, in the morning, the Assembly will consider reports of the Third Committee and draft resolutions under various agenda items on which the Assembly has been awaiting reports of the Fifth Committee on programme budget implications.

On Tuesday, 21 December, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up reports of the Second Committee. On the same day the Fifth Committee should hold its last meeting before the holiday recess, so that the Assembly may have a plenary meeting the following day, Wednesday, 22 December, to take action on the recommendations of the Fifth Committee. Any unfinished business related to the Fifth Committee that must be resolved before the end of the year would have to be considered at a meeting of the Fifth Committee on Tuesday, 28 December, and by the Assembly, in plenary meeting, the same day, or on Wednesday, 29 December, at the latest.

I hope that this will not cause any inconvenience for delegations.

AGENDA ITEMS 38 (continued) and 39 (continued)

ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/48/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/48/43)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/467 and Add.1, A/48/523, A/48/691)

(d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL AND DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE (FOURTH COMMITTEE) (A/48/657)

(e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/48/L.29, A/48/L.30, A/48/L.31/Rev.1, A/48/L.36)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/524)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.37)

The PRESIDENT: I call on the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid to introduce draft resolutions A/48/L.29 and A/48/L.30.

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid: I wish to speak first not in my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, but as the representative of a country - Nigeria - that has been in the vanguard of the struggle against apartheid, that heinous crime against humanity.

Today - 45 years after India first raised in the Assembly the question of discriminatory legislation by the South African Government against Indians of South African origin, and 31 years after the General Assembly established the Special Committee against Apartheid to keep the racial policies of the Government of South Africa under constant review - South Africans are on the threshold of attaining their cherished goal: a new, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

About three weeks ago 19 of the political groups engaged in the multi-party negotiations ratified the agreement on a Constitution for the transition in South Africa. Prior to this historic development there was the equally historic decision to fix the date for the election in South Africa - 27 April 1994 - when all South Africans, black and white, aged 18 years and above, will for the first time ever participate in a general election in that country.

All these positive developments testify to the fact that we are on the verge of a new era in South Africa's chequered political history.

Since the Special Committee against Apartheid was established in 1962 Nigeria has had the honour and privilege of chairing its work for more than two and a half decades. During these long years my delegation has worked with dedication and commitment within the Committee in support of the struggles of the South African people. As a country and as a delegation, we have devoted considerable time and resources to fighting the obnoxious and inhuman system of apartheid in South Africa. Apartheid has caused havoc in many aspects of the everyday lives of Scuth African citizens, and the consequences of the policy linger in the economic sphere, in health, in education, in housing and in employment - to mention just a few examples.

The dawn of a new South Africa is therefore expected to bring forth the freedoms and fundamental rights that the majority of South Africans have been deprived of for so long, and for which they have fought for so long. The majority of the population of South Africa have endured the discrimination and inequities forced upon them by the apartheid system, have devoted many years of sacrifice - perhaps their whole lives in some cases - to the struggle for its demise, and have lost many loved ones along the way.

Today, as South Africans anticipate the birth of that new and just society, they justifiably look forward to reaping the fruits of their pain and suffering. They expect immediate positive changes in the socio economic imbalances that affect the lives of so many.

It must be stressed, however, that the new South Africa, despite the improving, though rather optimistic, statistical indications, is in for some extremely bumpy years. Many white South Africans consider theirs a rich country. In a way, judging by the 1988 figures for gross domestic product (GDP) per head, they are right. The GDP for South African whites was $6,500, compared with, for example, $650 for Zimbabweans and $1,600 for Botswanans.

Adult literacy among the whites is nearly 100 per cent, and white South Africans can expect to live for 73 years. South Africa has many sparkling cities and leafy suburbs. It has a good infrastructure, many rich people, a few world-class companies, and good hospitals and universities. On the face of it, these figures appear to indicate that South Africa belongs to the first world rather than the third world. The reality, of course, is that it does not.

Look beyond the white minority, and the country is seen to be truly "a tale of two cities". The majority of South Africans struggle for access to the basics of life - land, water, work, basic social services - and 84 per cent of the country's estimated 30 million blacks are earning less than enough to ensure that their families have adequate nutrition. These huge socio-economic disparities are indeed shocking in what is seemingly a first-world country. Herein lies a contradiction which is unlikely to disappear from South Africa soon.

The transition of South Africa presents a formidable challenge of political management. The tasks and problems confronting the country after apartheid will be no less daunting - writing the Constitution, building the nation, and addressing the glaring socio-economic inequities that South Africans face. South Africans will expect a new Government immediately to deal with these and other obstacles entrenched in the system by many long years of apartheid. It is a question not only of seeking an accommodation between these divergent views, but also of ensuring that the exuberance and political anxiety accompanying the process of transition is well managed and is channelled properly towards assisting in that process.

While the international community may stand ready to assist a new South Africa, redressing the country's socio-economic imbalances will ultimately depend largely on a growing economy. Nigeria is optimistic that the wisdom and resilience exhibited by the seasoned and dedicated leadership, both black and white, indeed, by all South Africans, which have resulted in the many historic decisions reached recently by the multi-party negotiators, will again be brought to bear in turning the economy around for the monumental tasks that lie ahead.

It is true that we stand on the threshold of a new South Africa that is full of promise, but it must be remembered that the evolving situation is as fraught with uncertainty and danger as it is complex and fragile. Violence, political intolerance and long-unfulfilled expectations still pose great danger to the process of peaceful political settlement.

Political violence has become a campaign orchestrated by those elements that are opposed to the negotiation process. It is aimed at discouraging, as well as frustrating, the political forces seeking the peaceful transformation of South Africa from an apartheid society into a non-racial, democratic society. Our fear is that such violence will escalate in the run-up to the elections - precisely to make a successful and peaceful outcome impossible.

Despite the enormous and historic progress made by the multi-party negotiators in their talks, differences between parties seeking to shape a post-apartheid future for South Africa persist. Of particular concern is the continuing insistence by the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party on suspending their participation in the multi-party negotiations and perhaps not participating in the elections of 27 April 1994. They also appear to reject as binding on them decisions arrived at by the Multi-Party Forum.

These positions, in our view, have the capacity to aggravate the situation in the country and to reduce the chances of an early peaceful settlement. We renew our appeal to all in those parties to reconsider their decision positively, in the interests of all the people of South Africa.

In this connection we also want to appeal to the international community to give active and urgent consideration to the request for a sizeable number of election monitors in South Africa. The arguments for this are well articulated in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which we, of course, as a delegation, entirely endorse.

Nigeria is indeed truly delighted that at long last the proverbial light at the end of the long, tortuous and dark tunnel now appears to be in sight and that the birth of a new South Africa may indeed be only months away. We wish to seize this opportunity as Nigerians to congratulate the South African people, black and white, and in particular their leaders who, in the last two years, have shown great statesmanship in the negotiations that have resulted in the monumental decisions of the past few months.

The transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial society will open up new challenges not only for South Africa but also for the subregion and, indeed, for the continent of Africa as a whole to continue to contribute to international peace and security in the world. The costs of reconstructing the economies of the subregion destroyed by acts of aggression and destabilization by South Africa are enormous. Given the magnitude of the task, it is our hope that we can still count on those whose solidarity has made an important contribution to bringing us to this stage of the struggle.

The multi-racial Transitional Executive Council became operational on 7 December, and thus has finally, and in concrete terms, confirmed the irreversibility of the march towards an apartheid-free society in South Africa. In response to the appeal made by Mr. Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, to this Organization on 24 September 1993, Nigeria will now commence active contact with the South African authorities to facilitate bilateral diplomatic interaction.

Since this may well be the last session of the General Assembly to deal with this agenda item in its present form, my delegation would like to thank the States Members of the Organization for the untiring efforts they have brought to bear on this question, efforts which have today made it possible for this vast and inhuman system to be erased from the statute books in South Africa. The members of the Special Committee deserve special gratitude for their role in getting us to where we are today. Nigeria is indeed grateful for their consistent support in the difficult past years. Above all, the oppressed and dispossessed people of South Africa must be congratulated on their resilience and steadfastness. This victory, which is truly theirs, is very well deserved. As Chairman of the Special Committee, I received immense support and cooperation from our partners in all the regions and all the groups, and I thank them for their support.

We have consistently maintained that we wish to be the last Chairman of the Special Committee. It remains our expectation that apartheid will truly be dead after the successful elections on 27 April 1994, at which time the international community can take deserved pride in giving the obnoxious system that has left thousands of hearts permanently distressed a befitting funeral. Today we can say that, barring any difficulties in the months ahead, and with God's help, that wish will be attained.

Now, in my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I should like to introduce two draft resolutions for adoption by the General Assembly under agenda item 38, "Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa," on which we have just concluded our debate.

Draft resolution A/48/L.29, "International efforts towards the total eradication of apartheid and support for the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa", is the outcome of a profound assessment of developments in South Africa since last year's debate in the General Assembly - an assessment set forth in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid. The Special Committee has also consulted with a number of delegations and has taken into consideration the views and proposals expressed by them in the course of those exchanges. I am happy to say that the draft resolution is in line with almost all the statements made during the consideration of agenda item 38.

The draft resolution reflects the actual situation in South Africa, identifies the areas of concern, indicates objectives for the international community with regard to

a changing South African society and recommends ways in which the international community could help South Africa in the forthcoming critical period. Violence is still a very serious problem in South Africa's peaceful transition. Our concern over the continuing violence and our recommendations in that regard are reflected in five of the 22 paragraphs of the operative part of the draft resolution. There is broad-based agreement that assistance from the international community to the South African society is of the utmost importance at this stage and will be so in the years to come. Eight paragraphs of the draft resolution define the main areas of assistance sought.

Since the future of South Africa depends on the outcome of the first non-racial democratic elections, an immediate task before the United Nations and the international community as a whole is to be ready to provide the support for the electoral process that the South Africans, through the Transitional Executive Council and the Independent Electoral Commission, are soon expected to request. Under the draft resolution, the Assembly would call upon the Secretary-General to respond promptly and positively to such a request and to accelerate planning, in consultation with the Security Council, for a United Nations role in the election process, in coordination with the observer missions of the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union.

At this important period of fundamental changes in the history of South Africa a continuing international consensus on the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa will signal once again the international community's determination to stay with the South Africans during this period of transition. I am encouraged to believe that such an international agreement is at hand and that draft resolution A/48/L.29 can be adopted by consensus.

As Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I was pleased to hear in many statements expressions of appreciation for the role that the Committee has played in mobilizing international support for the elimination of apartheid and in promoting support for the process of peaceful political settlement in South Africa. I am very grateful to acknowledge those words of encouragement and appreciation.

Draft resolution A/48/L.30, "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid," provides directions for the Special Committee's activities until the completion of its mandate following the establishment of a democratically elected, non-racial government in South Africa.

In asking members to vote in favour of draft resolution A/48/L.30, I urge them to bear in mind that in the next few months South Africans will need, perhaps more than ever, the support of the international community. It is crucial that we stay with them until the course is finally run, allowing the Special Committee to go out of existence with a sense of its mission having been fulfilled.

I should like to take this opportunity to thank all the participants in this debate who emphasized the positive approach taken by the Special Committee. The Special Committee has at all times been ably supported by the Centre against Apartheid, which operates under significant resource constraints. I believe that the Centre deserves to be appreciated and encouraged for its effective and productive work.

The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the Vice-Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, Miss Nabeela Al-Mulla of Kuwait, to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.31/Rev.1.

Ms. AL MULLA (Kuwait), Vice-Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa: On behalf of Algeria, Cuba, Indonesia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Ukraine, the United Republic of Tanzania and my country, Kuwait, I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.31/Rev.1 on the "Work of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa".

It is only logical that this should be the last draft resolution submitted by the Group to the Assembly. In one sense, it is a procedural text that takes note of the report of the Intergovernmental Group, terminates the mandate of the Group and arranges for the receipt of responses of States that have not yet replied to queries addressed to them but would wish to do so. Given the good cooperation that the Group had over the years with Member States, the latter procedure was deemed necessary since queries regarding the investigation carried out by the Group were sent to Governments on 31 August 1993, and many of them were not in a position to respond in time to have their replies reflected in the report. Therefore, in accordance with operative paragraph 3, the Assembly would request the Secretary-General to issue, by 30 January 1994, addenda to the report.

On the other hand, the text reflects the political endorsement by the international community of the progress made towards a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. As far as the oil embargo is concerned, draft resolution A/48/L.31/Rev.1 wraps up what has already

been taken up by General Assembly resolution 48/1. In that resolution, the Assembly decided:

> "that all provisions adopted by the General Assembly relating to the imposition of an embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa, and on investment in the petroleum industry there, shall cease to have effect as of the date that the Transitional Executive Council becomes operational" (*resolution 48/1, para. 2*).

On 7 December, the Transitional Executive Council became operational. On 9 December, you yourself, Mr. President, announced that the oil embargo was lifted. The members of the Intergovernmental Group welcome these developments, particularly the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, which is reflected in the third preambular paragraph.

Lastly, it is the wish and the hope of the sponsors that the Assembly will adopt this draft resolution by consensus.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform representatives that in order to allow the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Fifth Committee to review the programme budget implications of the draft resolutions submitted under agenda items 38 and 39, action on the draft resolutions is postponed to a later date, to be announced. At that time, I hope myself to make a brief concluding statement.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.